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ABSTRACT

Using a cross-country framework which draws on the experience of the developed nations--Western Europe, Canada, the United States, and Japan--this study examines the way countries view the problems of the transition from school to work and the role of the transition services in smoothing the passage. Focus is on the formal and public transition services provided by official agencies at various levels of government which encompass information, guidance, placement, induction, and follow-up of young workers on the job. Stressing the experience of a few countries whose size or programs command attention, the study alludes to others when they have distinctive experience or policies. Greatest emphasis is placed on the problems and services for the age group which enters work after lower or upper secondary education. An introductory chapter outlines the objectives. Chapter 2 presents the basic discussion of the intermediary services of which the transition services are part. In chapter 3 the organizational structure of the transition services is analyzed. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with educational and occupational guidance, and chapter 6 reviews the issues and practice in guidance and counseling. Chapters 7, 8, and 9 are devoted to methods of finding jobs and official job placement efforts. Induction to work and the follow-up of young people in their early jobs are the subjects of chapter 10 while chapter 11 summarizes and discusses policy implications. The full 928-item bibliography is included. (JT)

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BRIDGES TO WORK

International Comparison of Transition Services

by

Beatrice G. Reubens

Conservation of Human Resources
Columbia University
July, 1977

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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16. Abstracts

Drawing on the experience of the United States, western Europe and Japan, this comparative study examines the way countries view the problems of the transition from school to work and the role of the transition services in smoothing the passage. Transition services are concerned with educational and occupational information and orientation, educational and occupational gu9dance and counseling, job placement, induction to work, and follow-up of young workers. The study also considers the overall organizational structures to deliver the transition services, the inputs, the quantity and quality of outputs, the reactions of consumers, and the outcomes. Evaluation studies are reviewed. Lessons for the United States are drawn from the experience of countries with more highly developed transition services.

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Table of Contents

Preface		i
Chapter I	From Learning to Earning	1
Chapter II	Transition, Intermediary and Human Resources	17
Chapter III	Organizational Goals and Forms	31
Chapter IV	Orientation and Information: Needs and Services	53
Chapter V	Orientation and Information: Activities, Organization and Evaluation	83
Chapter VI	Guidance and Counseling	111
Chapter VII	Initial Placement: Search Methods	145
Chapter VIII	Initial Placement: Job-Finding Methods	165
Chapter IX	Placement Outcomes	193
Chapter X	Induction to Work and Follow-Up	217
Chapter XI	Programs and Policies	237
	References	253

List of Tables

Table 7.1	Rank of Utilization and Effectiveness Rates of Job Search Methods for New Entrants	162
Table 8.1	Method of Finding the First Job	166
Table 9.1	Percentage of Youth in the United States Experiencing Various Durations of Unemployment Prior to First Job	197
Table 9.3	Percentage of Unemployment in 1972: Youth and Total Labor Force in Sweden and the United States	201
Table 9.4	Percentage of All Employed Changing Employers at least Once During One Year	205
Table 9.5	Percentage of Voluntary and Involuntary Job Leavers Experiencing Unemployment	205
Table 9.6	Percentage of Young People Having Multiple Employers Since Starting Work	207

PREFACE

The comparative approach to social science research requires a sufficiently deep understanding of several cultures and institutions so that the investigator is capable of differentiating form from essence. Dr. Beatrice Reubens, Senior Research Associate of the Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University, has demonstrated her skills in comparative social analysis in a comprehensive study, The Hard-to-Employ: European Programs (Columbia University Press, 1970).

The present study represents the first of Dr. Reubens' three volumes on youth. These works will develop comparisons dealing separately with education and training, transition services from school to work, and the youth labor market situation. Bridges to Work, as the subtitle makes clear, focuses on the theme of "International Comparisons of Transition Services."

In her studies, Dr. Reubens considers the advanced economies of Western Europe, Canada, Australia, the United States, and Japan. The scope of activities subsumed under the term "transition services" include the following functions: orientation and information; guidance and counseling; initial job placement, including research methods and results; induction to work; and follow-up. After an analysis of diverse conceptions of the transition from school to work, Dr. Reubens places the transition services in the context of efforts to expand and improve a nation's delivery of human services. She proceeds to a discussion of overall organizational issues and the individual transition services, ending by considering the significance of these transition efforts for individual and societal well-being.

The aim of the comparative approach is to distill lessons from one nation's experience for constructive use by another, thereby facilitating the diffusion of what has proved successful and warning against a repetition of experiments that have failed. Since the value of this study is rooted in its lessons regarding the interactions among the methods, goals, and results that different countries have pursued to improve a critical facet of their national development, there is little point in seeking to summarize Dr. Reubens' findings and conclusions. Students, public servants, and citizens who are concerned with the theme of transition should read her highly informative, clearly organized and well-balanced study. However, a few major themes do emerge from Dr. Reubens' work and are of interest to a wide range of readers.

First, why did all of these developed countries devote more and more public resources to improving the transition of young people from school to work? Clearly, these nations' leaders did not share the view of Theodore W. Schultz of the University of Chicago. Several years ago, in a speech for consultants to the National Institute of Education, Schultz argued that there was no problem of transition because, as every economist knows, the excessively high unemployment rates characteristic of youth (at least in the United States) disappear by the time these youth enter their early or mid-twenties. Despite such facile arguments, leaders in countries with much lower absolute and relative unemployment rates for youth and leaders in countries as different as Sweden and Japan have been concerned with improving the transition of young people into the world of work.

Dr. Reubens suggests that the increasing preoccupation with the transition process has multiple roots. The elongation of the educational process has not been an unalloyed boon. While it has enabled a high proportion of young people to delay occupational decisions until they are more knowledgeable and mature, the less academically oriented segment of the adolescent population continues to enter the labor market at about the age of 16. Poorly prepared, they encounter difficulties in finding a suitable job opening.

Another reason for widespread concern with the transition process stems from the belief that a period of prolonged search for a first job by a youthful entrant into the labor market or a revived search based on dissatisfaction with an initial job creates unnecessary costs for the economy and society by raising the unemployment rate and forcing employers to increase their expenditures for orientation and initial training.

Moreover, an intensified concern with improved transition services grows out of the greater social sensitivity to the maturational needs of young people who should not be forced to make job and career decisions without reference to their own aspirations, interests, and values. Young people have need for informational, counseling, and guidance services. With many families poorly positioned to meet these needs, the social welfare state has stepped into the breach.

Dr. Reubens makes clear that while the specific factors encouraging higher expectations for transition services differ from one developed country to the next, all of these nations believe that it is to their advantage to invest additional resources in strengthening the transition process.

This leads to the second theme. Given the overriding importance of the school (and the family) in determining the levels of cognitive and social skills and competences that young people acquire and given the compelling influence of labor market conditions in determining the level and specificity of demand for young workers, just what is sought by a strengthening of transition services? What can improved transition services hope to accomplish?

The principal chapters of Dr. Reubens' book center on a detailed analysis of the efforts that these countries have made and continue to make to improve the range and quality of the orientation and informational services available to young people; to secure counseling for young people with respect to their educational and career planning; to help youth in their job search and initial placement; and to aid them in adjusting to work. The approach followed in each of these probes is not only to present a wealth of descriptive data about the manner in which the major countries have gone about the task of strengthening informational, counseling, and placement services, but also to address the more important question of whether doing more results in improved outcomes for youth.

Although several chapters reveal that Dr. Reubens searched carefully and thoroughly for evidence and evaluative studies to support sound conclusions about the outcomes of these expanded efforts to improve the transitional process, the relevant literature and data bases prove to be disappointing. The interest in and methodology of evaluation is much further advanced in the United States than abroad. In the social realm, difficulties in evaluating programmatic interventions arise because of the multiple factors that influence the critical variables under assessment. Thus hampered, Dr. Reubens was unable to identify the specific consequences of incremental investments in the transitional services. Hence the reader will not find a simple listing of what worked and what did not, but he will get a balanced view of how informed observers and the author assess the several types of intervention.

A third theme worthy of consideration relates to the organizational structures within which the expanded transitional services were provided. Specifically the critical question is the relative roles of the educational authorities and the employment service. What comes through with great vividness in Dr. Reubens' account are the significant differences among countries and their constant efforts to change and improve their operations. The lesson to be learned from Dr. Reubens' review of the varying organizational arrangements is the imperative need for bringing the school and the employment service into a closer and more effective relation with each other. Neither institution can be solely responsible for strengthening the transitional process. The experience of Japan speaks clearly to this point: in a country that has placed great importance on prearranging employment for potential school leavers, educational officials work closely with the labor market authorities, not only with the employment service but with the individual employer who is recruiting young workers.

Dr. Reubens' book will be useful to many countries, each of which will find relevant analysis and suggestions. It prompts me to draw a few concluding observations relating to planning and programmatic efforts in the United States. Dr. Reubens makes the point, not once but several times, that the more successful efforts at strengthening the transitional process abroad stem from national initiatives in terms of policy, budget, and administration, which result in coverage of the entire country through reasonably uniform provisions at the local level. There may be room for the U.S. government to do more in this arena than it has as yet ventured. But I question whether even an optimal federal effort could, by itself, significantly strengthen the transitional process in the United States where both the employment service and the educational system are largely under state direction. Further, the relatively low penetration rate of the U.S. Employment Service makes it a weak underpinning for programs that require the active involvement of employers and trade unions if the transitional process is to be strengthened. The federal government may be in a position to do more directly in the arenas of information gathering and dissemination, counselor education, financing new types of transition officers to supplement overextended counselors, and the staffing and financing of the Employment Service, but the key to improved transitional services in the United States seems to me to be more active participation of local and state governments and the profit and nonprofit sectors. The expanded and improved provision of human services must meet the challenge of strengthening the local delivery system.

Dr. Reubens emphasizes the fact that, when Sweden decided to improve its transitional services, it allowed for the lead time required to plan, to train personnel, and to experiment in service delivery. The record of social reform in the United States shows repeated failures on these fronts. We expect too much too quickly and seldom face up to the critical need for qualified personnel to implement reforms. If Dr. Reubens' book does nothing more than remind readers of the importance of these several preconditions for improving human services in any field, including the transition from school to work, it will have done a great deal.

ELI GINZBERG

CHAPTER 1. FROM LEARNING TO EARNING

Not so long ago young children were so easily placed in factories beside their mothers and fathers that social reformers were interested only in postponing the transition from home to work. By sponsoring education they hoped to delay the inevitable drudgery in unhealthy shops and mines, a more repellent form of child labor than prevailed on the family farm. Thus the movement for mandatory, free education was intimately related to the crusade to end child labor. Both programs flourished as technological progress, urbanization, and social wealth made it possible to dispense with child labor, to finance an organized public school system, and to impose, compulsory education. While some present-day critics of education, on both the left and the right, question such a benign interpretation of the advent of compulsory education, there is little doubt that compulsory education appeared wholly beneficient to the early reformers whose efforts constituted the first concern with the transition from school to work.

At that time the emphasis was on the evils of work and the virtues of school. In Great Britain, where the legal school-leaving age was 12 through World War I and the great majority of children did not voluntarily stay on at school, the 1909 Royal Commission on the Poor Laws heard juvenile employment described as destructive to healthy development and indeed, wholly demoralizing (510, 5). To the committee which reported in 1917 on British juvenile education in relation to employment, additional education was pictured as the best alternative--the builder of morality and character (454, 117-18). In this period, here designated as phase one, the Education Committee of Manchester declared that the sudden break from school into the world of jobs or unemployment could "result in complete and perhaps disastrous interruption of development of the young person's bodily and mental powers" (664, 28).

In keeping with this outlook, echoed in other countries, early efforts to aid the transition from school to work focused on the prolongation of compulsory education, referrals to apprenticeship, medical examination of children to prevent entry of the weaker and more susceptible into particularly dangerous jobs, and legal restrictions on children's work. While the pioneer public vocational guidance and job placement services also were established during this first phase, the overriding aim still was to postpone the age of transition from school to work.

In the period between the world wars and especially after World War II, here called phase two, new attitudes toward the transition developed out of changes in schooling and the work environment. It became common for basic education to cover 15 or 16 year olds, while mandatory or voluntary part-time education in several countries extended to young people up to 18 who already were in employment. A significant residue of child labor remained in some countries, especially in agriculture, but the prevailing mode was school. As a concomitant, childhood, adolescence, and youth were legitimized as distinct stages of psychological and sociocultural development and children ceased to be viewed as miniature adults.

Under these circumstances, the transition from school to work emerged as an independent arena for study and action, distinct from efforts to reform education or youth employment; the latter efforts, of course, had a lively life of their own. Discussions of the transition basically accepted the length and quality of education and the nature of the job environment as facts of life and concentrated on understanding and improving the transition process itself. Analysis and official action were most conspicuous in those industrialized countries where a great majority of the youngsters left school at the earliest legal time, where a tradition existed of employer responsibility for training young people, and where social interventions were well accepted. A rich and accessible literature emerged in Great Britain, especially after World War II when full employment and a strong demand for young workers made it realistic to speak of a deliberate choice of job or occupation.

Those who theorized about the transition from school to work emphasized that it involved simultaneously internal and external stresses which arose from accelerated personal development, physical and emotional changes, altered family status and living modes, attempts to adopt adult behavior patterns, and entrance to the predominantly adult world of work. One analyst concluded that the transition from school to work was a "focal point in adolescent development, associated with uncertainties, disappointments, frustrations, and stress situations" (510, 303). To another, it seemed that "all the problems connected with the process of growing up in the modern world are writ large in the field of employment" (699, 14).

Significantly, the transition from one level of education to another or from one type of school to another did not form part of the subject of the transition, as it does currently in most developed nations. Because only a small elite was involved and usually was able to obtain needed information or advice, no transition problem was seen. Similarly, it would have been considered fatuous to define work to include unpaid or volunteer activities, or to speak of "careers" for the large segment of youth who entered paid employment in essentially unattractive jobs.

Reviewing the phase two literature, one finds a few main themes which define the difficulties of the transition. First, school is seen as an easier environment for youth and as profoundly different from employment. Second, the transition between school and work is judged to be too swift and abrupt. Third, the initial transition experience is considered crucial and is said to exert a decisive influence on a young person's whole occupational future. However, the transition process is seldom examined as a whole and the authorities complain of too few theoretical or methodological contributions (510, 5; 698; 454; 115).

Differences between school and employment lie at the heart of phase two transition analyses, with the school environment implicitly or explicitly deemed superior in most statements. In 1959 the influential Crowther Report in Great Britain identified school as "an environment designed specifically to develop powers," while the work situation was one in which a young person "finds a place only, or mainly, insofar as an employer can make use of him" (310, 1, 108-9). School was distinguished from work in the method and manner of supervision, the exercise of responsibility, interpersonal competition and social relationships, daily tasks and routines, penalties and sanctions, values and moral codes, and financial and social status. In many accounts school appeared as a place for maturation, a refuge, a protective cocoon. Contrasts were drawn between the sheltered school life and the sterner trials of the working world. Stress, culture shock, and role discontinuity were discerned in the transfer from school to work.

A second theme, widely stated, was that the transition from school was signally abrupt, a headlong plunge which produced anxiety in all concerned. Young people also might find the transition abrupt if the school's socialization process was inadequate or faulty. In this literature, the absence of occupational skill development at school usually is accepted, since the duration of school was too short to justify anything but general education, and, in some of the countries, employers expected and preferred to provide the occupational skills to young school-leavers.

Another recurring theme stated that the transition process played a critical role in the young person's life sequence, influencing the whole future occupational history. As Roberts sees it, "for school-leavers the entry into employment can be a process of momentous significance. Vocational decisions made at this stage in an individual's life can shape the whole of his future career (699, 19). According to Johnson, a distinguished economist, the initial occupational decision is akin to that faced by a prospective investor in capital equipment or in stocks and bonds; in job choice also there is a collection of information, an assessment of risks, an evaluation of returns, and an assembling of resources (569, 15). This once-and-for-all view of the transition has particular applicability in Japan where the new entrant's connection with a particular firm may be a lifetime commitment.

The foregoing perceptions of the stresses and significance of the transition for young school-leavers were not entirely in accord with the opinions of young people about school and work. Studies in several countries established that many youngsters disliked school more than employment and moved easily from classroom to workplace. Of course, some adjusted poorly to work, but many also were maladjusted or unsuccessful at school. Large numbers of pupils actively welcomed welcomed their departure from school and introduction to work, especially if they were bored or unhappy or had low-grades at school. Even when initial enthusiasm for work turned to boredom and dissatisfaction in time, few had regrets about no longer being at school.

A national survey in Great Britain in 1966 found that three-fourths of those who planned to leave school at 15 felt that being at work definitely was preferable to being at school, with only one-tenth saying that school was clearly favored over work. Work was considered better than school because it would offer increased freedom and independence, one's own spending money, less discipline, treatment as an adult, and freedom from teachers (a species more disliked by adolescent girls than by boys). Endorsing these points, teenagers already at work, even more of whom preferred work to school, added further reasons: a greater variety of tasks at work, action instead of talk, an opportunity to meet different kinds of people (chiefly stated by girls), and going things within one's capacities instead of struggling unsuccessfully with academic subjects (321, 138-10, 150). More recent studies confirm these attitudes toward school and work (576 s).

In another national survey of British boy school-leavers in 1968-69, half were actively looking forward to starting their first jobs. They particularly valued: the money they would earn, the chance to start something new, the opportunity to make new friends, and getting away from school. Almost two-thirds anticipated that they would find nothing to dislike in their first jobs; only 9 percent thought that they would not like work. Anticipating that the actuality of work might have changed their views, the longitudinal study followed the boys after they had been on their jobs for a while. At that time 55 percent reported that the conditions of their jobs were much as they had expected and almost half of the remainder reported, for each explored aspect of the job, that their experience was better than they had anticipated (844, ch. 5).

Bazalgette discovered the same sort of reaction recently among young workers, who, he claimed, had been filled with inaccurate and disturbing ideas about work while they were at school. Moreover, studying the organization and functioning of both schools and workplaces in a British Midlands industrial city, Bazalgette concluded that schools were less satisfactory than work-settings as regards social stability, personal relationships with adults, learning environment, and personal development of young people (50; 51; 52). This was substantially the position taken by the Panel on Youth in the United States, chaired by Coleman, although it made no direct comparison of environments (894). Reflecting this view, American experiments in Experience-Based Career Education have been offering education away from the classroom (867). And a Dutch program of "participatory education" is an experimental alternative to the extension of full-time compulsory education. The strong support for apprenticeship in some countries also is related to distrust of additional education for all youth.

Some comparisons of young people who enter work with similar youth who remain at school find that the young workers are more socially mature, satisfied, and successful, effecting an easier transition to adulthood as well as to work (49, 146a, 18n.). The Inner London

Education Authority discovers stress in many pupils because "extended education has meant that youngsters are still subject to school disciokube and school arrangements while many of their contemporaries enjoy the privileges and responsibilities of wage earners." (306). A study of British students in higher education also discerns greater strain than among their contemporaries at work (576a). Not only is the transition for young school-leavers of 15 or 16 perhaps less stressful than the theorists claim, but its importance also is challenged on the ground that the success of the transition, as such, is a relatively minor influence on future occupational success. Critics assert that the entering position in the occupational hierarchy is crucial to future accomplishment, and that the level and type of the first full-time job are determined to socioeconomic forces and educational attainment which antedate and are more basic than the transition process.

Phase two thinking about the transition has been undermined not only by disagreement between theory and observation but also by changes in the youth population and by the invasion of phase three ideas from countries like the United States. Fully visible only in a few countries, phase three is distinguished by deep interest in maturation and self-development, the learning and performance capabilities of the individual, the development of decision-making capacity, and an awareness of options. Prominent in the American literature, these ideas have taken hold elsewhere recently. Shifting the emphasis to the individual and away from the narrow movement between school and work, this approach is not limited to the young school-leaver but maintains an interest in young people until they are 25 or more.

In addition, phase three is concerned with all aspects of the preparatory process and the limitations of the socioeconomic structure. Phase three perceptions of the transition arise from changes in both educational patterns and the youth labor market, new interpretations of the situation of youth, the increasing complexity of society, the wider range of choices open to youth, the new goals and standards established for youth and society, and the altered values, beliefs, and expectations of youth themselves. In the widened focus, transition problems are redefined, and attention is centered on the problems of those, usually a minority, whose transition is impaired by inadequacies in the preparatory or faults in the employment structure. While neither a repudiation nor an about-face from phase two, phase three is based on the notion of variety and evolution in all of the institutions and attitudes which affect the transition.

An OECD report observes that there are problems of facilitating the transition because "older patterns are obsolete and newer ones are in the process of being developed" (621, 62). Among the changes in education which have most keenly affected the perception of the transition is the voluntary prolongation of formal studies. As a consequence of the educational explosion in the 1960s, a large proportion of young people in many industrialized countries now attend educational institutions for several years beyond the mandatory age. The line between the end of education and entry to the full-time labor market is becoming less distinct, and the abruptness of the transition is less marked as large numbers of young people hold vacation or part-time jobs during the school year, take work-study or sandwich courses, attend school part-time, arrange time off from education officially or unofficially, return to education after a few years at work, or elect other alternations of schooling, training, nonwork, and work (946; 572; 601; 599; 14; 934). The pattern of prolonged education with vacation and part-time work has produced the somewhat paradoxical complaint that youth are entirely shielded from the work world. In countries where most youths enter the full-time labor force at 15 or 16, such views are less prominent.

A new sense in which the transition from school to work may be called abrupt or unexpected is suggested by a national survey of American boys who recently graduated from high school. Of the small proportion who went directly to work, some 70 percent had not expected this outcome, having planned as late as their final high school year to enter higher education (35, V, 26-7). However, a follow-up might well reveal that many of these boys later returned to education. The Project Talent national survey of 12th year American high school students of the 1960 class found that, while those proceeding directly to college from high school constituted 40 percent of the group, yet 11 years later about half of the original group had had some college experience. Moreover, by 1972 half of the men and a third of the women reported some noncollege education and training since high school (226, 31; 944, A-4, A-5; 847, 141). The assumption that school-leaving is a final and irrevocable decision, a pervasive idea in phase two discussions of the transition, has been altered by the new options which permit a resumption of full-time or part-time education, encourage recurrent education, and create elongated completion patterns for upper secondary and tertiary education.

Another aspect of prolonged education influences attitudes toward the transition problem in several countries. Recent experience undermines the belief, so strongly held in the 1960s, that more years of education automatically will ease the transition, open high status and income occupations to educated young people, and advance the economic growth of nations. Currently, difficulty is discerned among those affected by recent extensions of compulsory education (usually to 16), as well as among those who flock into the various forms of higher education. Because a substantial degree of voluntary prolongation of education already occurred in countries prior to their raising the legal school-leaving age, the statutory change affects relatively few of the age group, and these are young people who dislike school, resent the extension, and have exhibited "school-weariness." Preferring work to school, many who are compelled to stay another year find that later entry gives them no advantage in the job market and causes loss of income during the extra school years.

The countries concerned have a variety of reactions to the disappointing experience--doubt about the wisdom of actions already taken; admonitions against further raising of the minimum leaving age; recommendations that the compulsory age be reduced; proposals for escape routes for the most disaffected; new approaches to the curriculum; concern about preparation for work in its broadest sense; attempts to establish systems of recurrent or lifelong education opportunities; and interest in beginning schooling a year or two earlier. Reversing previous positions that compulsory schooling should be entirely devoted to general education, with occupational skills coming afterward either through employers or special schools, some countries now contemplate using the added compulsory school time to begin occupational skills training for those whose departure from school seems final.

One effect of educational changes is a new attention to the transition problems of subgroups of young school-leavers. Those who fail to complete the normal course, do not take examinations, or fail to earn diplomas are marked as potential transition problems, as are some who complete upper secondary school in the U.S. and France. Influenced by the American war on poverty, the concept of disadvantaged youth has taken hold elsewhere. Besides those who do not achieve the minimum academic credentials, the disadvantaged commonly include the physically and mentally handicapped, those with social or psychological inadequacies, members of ethnic, racial or cultural minorities, immigrants with lanaguage and cultural difficulties, and residents of rural, isolated, or depressed areas. Their transition needs assume a new urgency in several countries.

Another discovery is that added years of education can intensify rather than ease transition problems, especially when the number of graduates is excessive in terms of the supply of jobs traditionally held by graduates. Many of those who endure higher education without strong academic interests or firm occupational goals emerge reluctantly and are unprepared to make decisions and settle into adult roles. Prolonged education is attacked, especially in the United States and France, as an unwarranted and unhealthy extension of adolescence and a form of deprivation of rights, particularly unsuitable in light of the earlier physical maturation of today's young people. Fostering alienation, radicalization, postponement of decisions, uncertainty about work values, and reluctance to make commitments to the work world, education, once seen as the saviour of youth, now appears as something of a villain. Dissenters are quick to point out that these effects are most visible among those whose suitability for higher education is most debatable.

Other aspects of education, apart from its increased length, weaken the phase two view of the transition as involving movement between two basically fixed or given worlds in which youth themselves are chiefly responsible for the tasks of development and adjustment. Now, there are drives to postpone or end selective education, to delay or eliminate divisions into separate classes or schools, to innovate in the curriculum and school settings, to encourage continued education among early leavers instead of a direct departure to work, to make teaching less directive and authoritative, to accept greater pupil and student participation in decisionmaking, to secure equality of education outcomes for groups, to reject the gatekeeping role of the educational system in the work world--all of these change the definition and scope of the transition problem.

Increasing concern about the educational system's ability to teach basic subjects, impart occupational skills, develop personal and social qualities which foster maturity and employer acceptance, and even to maintain discipline and crime-free environments in schools also affects the conception of the transition. Similarly, the radical analysis of education and the antischool movement, however limited their actual appeal, create doubts about the meaning of the transition. Finally, youth's diminished acceptance or outright resistance to adult authority throws new light on the purposes and functions of education and the transition services.

Just as changes in education affect the concept of the transition, so do changes in the work world. Several employment trends influence the amount, type, and quality of entry jobs and, in turn, the scope and content of transition studies. Usually observed first in the United States, these employment trends increasingly are reported elsewhere. For example, some of the countries which had low and stable youth unemployment rates during most of the postwar period find, since the late 1960s, that youth unemployment rates have been rising relative to adult rates and have failed to return to the earlier ratios after each cyclical downturn. Great Britain, Sweden, France, Belgium, Austria, Australia, and the Netherlands are among the nations which have observed this development. True, the time period involved is too short to draw firm conclusions, the data base is shaky in several cases, and none of these countries has yet experienced persistent, high, noncyclical youth unemployment. Nevertheless, several countries are abandoning the comfortable postwar assumption that entry jobs will be plentiful most of the time (685; 601; 563; 23; 796).

Changes in the structure of employment first seen in the United States are now evident elsewhere. The share of employment in the services has been increasing as agriculture and manufacturing have declined absolutely or relatively (a slight rise in the share of manufacturing has occurred in Germany, Japan, and France, among others, but it may not last through the next decade). The result in most countries is to eliminate specific "youth" jobs as well as to reduce general employment opportunities in agriculture and manufacturing where youth previously had found entry jobs fairly easily.

British surveys confirm that youth jobs such as tea-boy, messenger boy, and office boy and such practices as having a boy accompany and assist a truck or van driver also have been disappearing as firms cut costs. In some entry jobs which provided advancement to adult employment, the position of "mate" has been eliminated and "junior operatives" no longer exist as the minimum hiring age rises to 18, especially in industries where continuous processes and heavy capital investment are the mode. Apprenticeships in some industries leading to skilled worker status have also decreased as a result of the decline of manufacturing employment and changes in production methods. Some substitution of adult for youth labor, especially women for boys, has been fostered by the narrowing differential between youth and adult wage rates and the avowed preference of some employers for adults. Of course, many new youth jobs have been created, especially in the service sector. But they are not always a direct substitute for low level entry jobs which absorb the early school-leavers who have taken no formal examinations in academic subjects and have received no training on the job. In many cases, recruitment standards have been raised to match high levels of academic attainment without regard to the demands of the job (300; 309).

A concern for the future of this segment of the youth population has appeared in several European countries, matching the American focus in the 1960s on school dropouts. At the same time theories of segmented labor markets have labeled the kinds of jobs these young people tend to take as secondary and inferior, leading in some cases to lifelong exclution from the "good" jobs. The goal of the transition has shifted from finding a place for each new labor market entrant to providing enough jobs in the "primary" labor market for all new entrants, either immediately or after a short time. In some European countries the growth of protective legislation and practices which guarantee employment security to workers already employed has adversely affected the position of new entrants, especially the disadvantaged segment. Employers in these countries now hesitate before hiring young workers because it will be extremely difficult to discharge unsatisfactory youth (685; 687a).

The labor market for those leaving various forms of higher education also has changed. Overall the numbers of new entrants tend to be greater than can easily be absorbed in the types of jobs deemed appropriate for this level of education. Even at full employment, the supply tends to outrun the demand, and the situation is aggravated in time of recession. Moreover, many students choose specializations in the humanities, arts, foreign languages, sociology, and history which cannot lead to education-related jobs. This aspect of the expansion of higher education is most deplored in countries where unfilled vacancies exist in technological jobs, some kind of national planning prevails, higher education costs are exclusively or largely paid by the government, and society sets narrow limits on the jobs that can be offered or accepted by those who have completed higher education (384; 931; 908; 295b; 292; 249; 250; 634). In this last respect, American employers and college graduates show greater adaptability than European.

Another ongoing change concerns the growing similarity of male and female work patterns. In phase two thinking, the transition nominally concerned both sexes equally. But, in fact, with few exceptions, girls were expected to work briefly before they married and then retired from the labor force, while boys were designated for lifetime attachment to employment. Although many young girls still believe and hope that they will not have to work for more than a few years, lifetime profiles indicate that large numbers will return to the labor market sooner or later, full-time or part-time, intermittently or permanently. At the same time, younger women increasingly seek jobs, especially at the higher occupational levels, which previously have been held mainly by men.

The unemployment situation of new labor market entrants also differs from country to country according to sex. In some nations, girls leaving

In some nations, girls leaving junior and senior secondary schools have an easier transition to work than boys at the same level. Finding openings in white collar, sales, and factory jobs, teenage girls in Canada, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Norway, among others, generally are less troubled by unemployment than teenage boys; Belgium, France, Australia, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and the United States report the reverse situation. In Japan, girl junior high school graduates have the advantage, but for girl senior high school graduates, there are relatively fewer job vacancies than for boys (610; 428; 791; 129; 630; 300; 895). It is difficult to know how much additional female unemployment is masked by withdrawal from the labor market, since families are usually more indulgent when girls do not work, even if they are not primary homemakers.

In phase two thinking, a successful transition required that entrants take jobs which they kept for some time; job-changing, especially within the first year, was regarded as unhealthy and the mark of an unsuccessful transition. This doctrine, almost gospel in Japan where lifetime attachment to the firm is the ideal, has less status in countries where phase three concepts prevail. That youth job-changing rates will exceed adult rates is now accepted more readily on a number of grounds--as a rational reaction by young people to the unsatisfactory entry jobs they may be forced to accept, as part of the slow process of becoming established at work, as a result of entering work before sufficient occupational maturity has been achieved, as a reflection of the fact that many young people have jobs rather than careers, as a sensible reaction to the opportunities offered by full and overfull employment, and as a normal part of the lifelong necessity of changing jobs and occupations in a fast-changing world.

It is not clear whether young job-changers fare better than their more stable contemporaries. An American longitudinal study which began in 1966 with a sample aged 14 to 24 indicates that as compared to those who remained with the same employer through 1971, job changers made more progress in wage rates but not in occupational status (644, IV, 54-75; 645). British follow-up studies of 15 to 16-year olds show a mixed picture for the changers (844, ch. 6). Given the greater tolerance toward and approval of deliberate job-changing in recent thinking, a continuing concern persists about the vulnerability of young workers to involuntary terminations, unemployment between jobs, and excessive job-changing among some who often also have personal and social difficulties (48a; 114a).

The opinion also is growing that many young people have different attitudes than their elders or than previous generations of youth toward the role of work in life, acceptable types of work, the responsibilities and rewards of work, and income from nonconventional sources. Some youth attitudes are more widespread than others. For example, the rejection of dirty or menial jobs, and dislike of night shifts or weekend work in factories has become fairly general in most developed countries; but the antipathy to certain kinds of factory work is a particular public issue in countries where such employment has not been declining--Japan or France are cases in point--or where official policy opposes further importation of foreign workers. A West German survey among teenagers (16 to 20) arouses concern elsewhere with its suggestion that the image of the hard-working German might no longer apply. It depicts present-day German youth as avoiding effort and risk, seeking immediate gratification, expressing doubts about the fairness of rewards, and feeling fatalistic about their ability to alter their social status (916, 9). It is more debatable whether an "allergy to work" or "marginalism of youth" affects a majority of youth, even in countries such as France which offer evidence of such phenomena (713; 716; 719; 39). Taking the longer view, some analysts discount the overt views and behavior of young people, asserting that most will settle down to more traditional patterns as a result of marriage, family responsibilities, and increasing maturity.

Nevertheless, the new patterns are sufficiently marked to affect thinking about the transition. Drawing on his studies of French youth, Rousselet finds a new need to check the psychological suitability of jobs for young entrants, much as the earlier laws provided for medical examinations of youth and approval of the work environment (717). Others, discerning a large voluntary element in youth unemployment, propose changed approaches toward the transition to cope with this situation. Another reaction is acknowledgment of the diverse patterns among youth, indeed subcultures, which make reference to a common transition experience obsolete. Suggesting an approach to transition problems which "welcomes, rather than denies, the presence of multiple value systems," Hoyt conveys the essential spirit of the third phase (403, 7). It is quite in contrast with the British tendency, noted as late as 1972 by a well-informed official of the Department of Education and Science, "to perceive those from alien working class subcultures as intruders whose value systems need transforming" (200, 17).

The United States, definitely in phase three, seems largely to have skipped phase two. American concern about the transition process has arisen chiefly in periods of economic crisis or in relation to prolonged high youth unemployment. The early adoption of longer schooling, the diversity of American school-leaving and job-entry patterns, the characteristic emphasis on democratic conduct in the schools and on individualism and self-help, and a belief in the existence of an open, mobile society may have reduced some of the transition pressures which other countries felt. Evans maintains that the focus of American education on preparing only for subsequent schooling has led to a neglect of the problems of transition for the large number who do not proceed to higher education (204, 208). A list of the transition problems of American youth in 1969 indicates how little emphasis has been placed on phase two concepts (266). American research, theorizing, and policy have been channeled away from the specific problems of the transition into wider considerations of personal development, on the one hand, and social and economic structures, on the other. Of course, some Americans have also perceived the transition in phase two dimensions, exemplified in a list of the ingredients of a successful transition compiled in 1968 by Hoyt (403, 5). The speech at Ohio State University of then President Ford in 1974 on the need to bring education and work closer together generated a new list of transition difficulties in which the isolation of youth at school from adult pursuits and environments figured prominently (87a). Reflecting the influential Coleman report on youth, this view of alienated youth and a changed world from the past (125, 570) has been challenged by some investigators (848a). Despite a rhetoric which sounds as though all youth are in trouble, most of the analysts actually are concentrating on certain disadvantaged groups of youth and their transition problems. On this point there is agreement.

A final aspect of the third phase is its suggestion that a successful transition is important not only for the individual concerned but for the whole economy and society. Emphasizing nondirective approaches, this view should not be confused with the distortion of second phase activities which converted the transition process in wartime Japan and Germany into service to the state (432, 30-1; 213, 10).

The three distinct phases identified above represent a somewhat idealized and unhistorical account of the development of actual attitudes toward the transition in the industrialized countries. In reality, no orderly progression from stage to stage is visible; at any time, overlapping, coexistence, skipping forward, and retrogression may be found in almost every country, in the assembled writings of the authorities, and in public officials' declarations. Apart from differences stemming from phase two or phase three orientation, a diverse subject matter is encompassed in analyses of "the transition." Transition studies may emphasize one of the following: individual development, economic and social problems, institutional relationships, or public programs. In turn, each of the above subjects is treated differently according to the discipline of the author. Psychologists, sociologists, educators, and labor market economists have their distinct professional perspectives. At the same time, there are important differences among nations in prevailing views, national style, the timing and rate of change in circumstances, and historical background. It also is possible that some countries will develop few of the phase three problems or attitudes and will either remain at phase two or jump to some as yet unknown phase four.

Recognition of the difficulties of the transition and the inadequacy of personal and informal sources of information and guidance aroused early interest in public measures to assist young people. As far back as the 18th century. according to a contemporary British writer, a tutor to Frederick the Great of Prussia criticized parents and persons in authority for thoughtlessly forcing young people "into something in which only they, the superiors, have pleasure" or into "the same trade as their parents" (97, Spr. 73, 21). Looking back longingly to a past which may have never been, other present-day writers suggest that the family no longer can help as it once did, and that the situation is more difficult than in earlier years, even though common elements may be present. Parallel to the belief that the family is less competent in the current complex world, with its rapid change and wider range of choices for the individual, is the assertion in many countries that formal and official assistance is needed; it is so stated by those concerned professionally with young people and by others, including parents and young people themselves.

Beyond the needs of the individual young person for assistance, society has an interest because inadequate or invalud transition services may lead to social and political disorder or to a waste or misdirection of "much social investment in human resources designed to bring about more effective participation in the econony" (491, 53).

Out of these views come the formal transition mechanisms which attempt to ease the movement from school to work. In the countries where they have been most developed, the transition services encompass information, guidance, and job placement for those in educational institutions, as well as induction and follow-up of young workers. Many authorities, especially those who foresee a future in which paid work occupies a diminishing share of the week and the lifetime and who are discouraged about the possibilities of improving or eliminating menial jobs, argue that the transition services must attempt more than the adjustment of young people to their future work roles; they must also smooth the passage into every phase of adult life. Whether and how far the various kinds of helping services can be integrated is debated. But in practice the most common approach is to distinguish the transition services which concern the movement from education to paid work from those which deal with personal and social development, although cooperative action is increasingly evident. The American career education movement treats paid and unpaid activities as "work" and regards everyone as having a "career." As discussed here, the transition services concentrate on the paid work role and view a career as a cumulative development along a given course.

Phase three thought generally accepts the transition services, but adds two important modifications. First, the need for the transition services is seen as uneven among various groups of young people, with the disadvantaged requiring more and differentiated attention. Second, the traditional transition services play an altered and somewhat diminished role as analysts charge both the major societal institutions which prepare young people for work and the labor market itself with creating and contributing to transition problems. Instead of adhering to the conviction common in phase two, that the primary need is to erect sturdy bridges to connect the solid shores of education and work, some phase three analysts complain that the preparation process is faulty and unfair and that many young people do not master the terrain or fall into quicksand before they enter the transition period. This is the main message of American career education. To others, the significant problem is that many young people find steep cliffs or fenced enclaves when they cross over to the shore of employment. The British Society of Education Officers, for example, criticizes the assumption made in other quarters that "all is well at work" and suggests that the problem might be "a work force with too ready an acceptance of the existing situation" (576, 11).

Increasingly, individual analysts, national commissions, and international organizations are extending their critical scope to encompass both the preparatory process and the youth labor market in discussions of the transition problem from school to work. How easily and swiftly young people cross from one shore to the other thus becomes less important than improving the ground itself, damming up the river so that movement is easier back and forth, providing amphibious vehicles, and moving the youngest and least able from the difficult crossing points to higher ground where passage may be more rewarding. In these circumstances, the need or efficacy of the transition services may assume a less significant position than they had in phase two, although these services may be extended to all levels of education.

Unfortunately much of the analysis of the difficulties of the transition as well as many of the suggested remedies fail to distinguish clearly among the three areas--the preparatory process, the transition services as such, and the youth labor market. While the three subjects have obvious points of overlap, good reasons exist to distinguish and separate them analytically. Greater clarity in the statement of problems and solutions is possible. Moreover, a separation of the subjects, especially in cross-country analyses, permits a more detailed and adequate treatment within a manageable length. But the overriding reason for dividing the subjects into at least three compartments is to foster relevance in the policy recommendations. The failure to divide up the broad subject of the transition often results in proposals which are unbalanced or inappropriate to the identified problems.

As transition problems are discovered, some countries show a desire to compare their experience and practices with those of other nations. Policy makers hope that a critical examination of their own institutions in terms of other countries' transition procedures will provide leads to action. Persistent youth unemployment in the United States directs attention toward the programs and institutions for smoothing the crossing from school to work in countries which have lower youth unemployment (8495, 1968, 111-123; 895, 1972, 77-100; 853, ch. 6,7; 136, 7-12). It is important to obtain an in-depth and current view of what is being done in other countries because, too often, a superficial knowledge has led to the recommendation of a policy of another country just as that country is abandoning it, or to the commendation of a country's policies based on the legal or formal provisions without regard to the realities of daily experience. An intensive exploration of the transition services on a comparative basis can be useful as a guide to policy, provided that the underlying economic and social differences among countries are not slighted and an excessive reliance is not placed on transition mechanisms, since the effectivensss of the latter only incidentally explains international variations in the ease of entry into the labor market.

In an attempt to avoid the pitfalls which are encountered when the transition is studied in its broadest context, the present cross-national effort has consciously divided the subject into three separate parts, with the first volume devoted to a comparative examination of the transition services. These services are often identified and provided individually, as for example, guidance or information. But the intention of this study is to discuss a comprehensive system of transition services which encompasses information, guidance, placement, induction, and follow-up of young workers on the job. *However, the transition services* are not concerned with teaching the cognitive skills, the socialization of youth, or imparting occupational skills. Later volumes are planned to provide cross-national examinations of the problems and policies in occupational preparation and in the structure and operations of youth labor markets.

The first study concentrates on the more narrowly defined transition process and uses a cross-country framework which draws on the experience of the developed nations--Western Europe, Canada, the United States, and Japan. Stressing the experience of a few countries whose size or programs command attention, the study alludes to others when they have distinctive experience or policies. Greatest emphasis is placed on the problems and services for the age group which enters work after lower or upper secondary education. Much of the discussion is equally applicable to the transition of youth to work from other settings, such as the armed forces, corrective institutions, residential health care facilities or other special environments. Similarly, transisions from one level or type of education to another are covered.

The title Bridges to Work has been chosen deliberately to indicate a concern with the formal and public transition services provided by official agencies at various levels of government in order to ease the transition process.

Four objectives are sought in this book. The first is to present a structured analysis of the official transition services in representative developed nations. The second is to examine the transition services and their personnel as a type of intermediary service and a part of the human services in modern society and as a form of employment in the whole service sector which has expanded rapidly. The third is to explore how the objective performance and results of the transition services can be and have been evaluated. Finally, some policy conclusions will be drawn about the transition services.

In keeping with these objectives, chapter 2 presents the basic discussion of the intermediary services of which the transition services are a part. In chapter 3, the organizational structure of the transision services is analyzed. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with educational and occupational guidance, chapter 6 reviews the issues and practices in guidance and counseling. Chapters 7, 8, and 9 are devoted to methods of finding jobs and official job placement efforts. Induction to work and follow-up of young people in their early jobs are the subjects of chapter 10, while chapter 11 summarizes and discusses policy implications.

CHAPTER 2. TRANSITION, INTERMEDIARY, AND HUMAN SERVICES

The transition services—information, guidance, placement, induction, and follow-up—may be understood better if they are seen as part of a broader system of intermediary services which, in turn, is part of a still larger system of human services. Human services have been defined by Chenault as a movement to assist "individuals to improve the quality of their lives in such areas as employment, health care, social security, education, welfare, and mental health." In her view, human services aid the entire community and include "government, law, business and industry, religion, law enforcement and corrections, communications, transportation, the arts, recreation, and political and social systems of all kinds" (110, 2, 8). This is not to say that all who are employed in these fields would hold human service jobs, although many would qualify. Only a fine line divides some of the human services within education, health, and social services from the intermediary services proper.

It would be difficult to cast back to a time when people in organized societies did not use the services of intermediaries in their daily lives. Respected individuals gave advice to those with problems found aid for those suffering hardships, acted as a buffer between individuals and institutions, and settled such disputes as could be resolved extra-legally. Often the local religious leader played this secular role, dealing with all age groups, types of problems, and institutions of society.

What distinguished contemporary from earlier times is the vast multiplication of the number of intermediaries, their secularization and institutionalization, their increasing specialization and professionalization, and the importance of governments in training personnel, as well as in financing and providing services. Intermediary services thrives as never before because the alternatives open to individuals are more complex, specialized, and rapidly changing than heretofore; because awesome bureaucracies have enveloped every aspect of modern life; and because the rights and benefits due ordinary citizens, and particularly those with special needs, require expert exploration, certification, and negotiation.

For present purposes, the transition and intermediary services are distinguished from social interventions, although the all-inclusive concepts of the human services may encompass interventions. Interventions attempt to change the objective circumstances which affect outcomes. For example, a social intervention might seek to change the demand for certain categories of workers (e.g., handicapped, minority, or older workers) by antidiscrimination legislation, incentives or penalties, and similar action. The transition and intermediary services would rely primarily on interpersonal relationships to effect the same aims. Obviously, combinations of interventions and intermediary services are found in many programs. Moreover, the transition and intermediary services can be viewed as agents of social change even though they lack the powers vested in interventions.

Intermediary services have a wide range of outcomes. They can produce actions which seek to change or do change objective circumstances. But they also may accomplish their purpose by providing assistance which is internalized and may or may not eventually result in action. Such services may operate legitimately even when their only effect is the satisfaction of the client that the service was available, and the service makes no visible impact or is openly rejected. Compared to the standards for judging the production and use of goods and other types of services, those applied to the intermediary services are more variable, nonobjective, and nonmaterial.

EMPLOYMENT IN INTERMEDIARY SERVICES

In the modern world, intermediary services are provided by specialized persons or agencies which act as go-betweens, mediators, sources of information, advice, or action, and perhaps even as advocates or agents. Those who provide intermediary services are part of the economy's service sector, which has been the fastest growing source of employment in recent years. Jobs in the intermediary services are distinct from such business service jobs as computer programmer or data processor; from such personal service jobs as waiter or hairdresser; and from professional, technical, and managerial jobs such as research scientist, X-ray technician, or store manager.

Intermediary services may be public, nonprofit, or private. In some cases, the government elects not to perform certain intermediary services itself and pays private or nonprofit agencies to carry out the functions for referred clients. Most intermediary services are voluntarily sought, but they may be compulsory, as in the case of applicants for unemployment insurance or welfare payments, who are required to accept employment service or social work services. Private fee-charging agencies may compete with the free or low-cost public services, offering the same or similar services but under different conditions; private employment or educational placement agencies are examples. Those who provide intermediary services may operate through specialized agencies or within organizations which are pursuing other activities. In the latter, the personnel with intermediary functions assist members of the organization who wish to transfer, deal with, or leave the organization or who have relevant dealings with the outside world; they also are concerned with those who desire to enter the organization.

A wide variety of professionals and subprofessionals are engaged in intermediary services. Subprofessionals not only relieve professionals of certain tasks, but are able to relate to clients in ways that professionals may not be able to do. Counselors and advisers of every variety, social workers, therapists, psychologists, lawyers, judges, clergymen, consumer advocates, placement officers, job developers, industrial relations arbitrators, and public officials are among the professionals. Along with traditional agencies such as social service organizations, there now are citizens' advice bureaus, poverty law agencies, and consumer protection and advocacy groups.

Those whose livelihood comes from providing intermediary services hold no monopoly since family, friends, community figures, and others operate informally as intermediaries. Some of the informal sources are uninformed and ineffective, while others are in a position to offer assistance beyond that furnished by the formal intermediaries, whether public or private. Well placed individuals who serve as informal intermediaries use their knowledge, power, influence, connections, or money to obtain "inside" information, to ease the task of making choices, to circumvent rules, or to gain special privileges, or to gain special privileges. It is the essence of the effective informal intermediaries that they should cater to a privileged minority, to those who may already have the best access to the formal intermediaries.

If these informal services were made available to all on an equal footing, they would either become institutionalized, losing their special value, or they might disappear. It is difficult to imagine a human society without such informal intermediaries, although their influence varies considerably according to the ethos and political system in force. In modern industrialized countries, the degree of dependence on the formal intermediary services differs among individuals according to their basic situation and needs and their access to knowledgeable or influential sources. The formal intermediaries may be important as a potential counterweight to the ill-informed or ineffective informal sources.

The social demand for formal channels constantly increase, supported by the affluence of industrial societies and democratic concepts of the right to such services. The growth of the intermediary services also is stimulated by the eagerness of young people to find jobs in such activities either because they have been satisfied customers or because they feel that they can reform and improve the services; the goal of doing useful work for society or helping people has eclipsed other career aims for many who are starting out in the owrk world. Another factor of no small importance is the power of existing employees and their organizations to obtain support for an expansion of their services by citing unmet or hidden needs, implicitly arguing that provision of more services automatically means fewer unsolved problems.

In light of the importance of the publicly-financed intermediary services in employment, some of the characteristics of this type of employment are noteworthy. Service employment tends to be highly labor intensive, and it is not easy to improve productivity (always difficult to measure in meaningful terms) by administrative changes or the substitution of capital for labor. Pressures for salary increases are not related to market demand or the profitability of an enterprise, and often there is no competing private sector enterprise for comparison.

Indeed, when services are offered free of cost or at below-market prices, neither the economic demand for the service nor the adequacy of the product can be tested. If the product is free, the demand may be ever-increasing or insatiable unless administrative and financial restrictions are imposed, as they usually are. While idle capacity may exist at times because people do not know about the services or do not wish to use them, more commonly services are rationed, clients wait on line, lists are made for future appointments, and interviews are briefer than are desired.

Employment in publicly-financed intermediary services also differs from privately-financed employment in the sharp impact of legislative and budgetary measures on the rate of growth or decline in the numbers of employees. There can be wide and unexpected fluctuations and sudden reductions of staff or eliminations of agencies, sometimes because of budgetary measures which are not directly related to the activities of the particular agency.

One authority predicts that the providers of these services will become an increasing proportion of the "general intellectual stratum of any industrial society; until the intellectual elite, and most of the leadership of the society, will be engaged in administering personal services" (337, 28). It is a fact that a large and rising proportion of all employment in industrial nations has been in the service sector, that much of the employment in the service sector has been publicly-financed employment, and that much of publicly-financed employment has been identifiable as intermediary or human services.

Forecasts of future developments point to this area as a major growth sector in employment. A Swedish forecast looks for relative decline in employment in almost every area except the production of services and anticipates that 80 percent of the additional job opportunities in the services will be connected with the activities of the several levels of government (795, 12-13). British projections of employment growth between 1971 and 1981 show public services rising from 17 percent to 21 percent of total employment, while other services increase by 1 percent, primary and manufacturing employment shrinks, and other production just maintains its share (295f). However, more recent British government decisions and budget cuts suggest that the anticipated increases in this type of employment may not be realized. Other countries also are having second thoughts about the continued expansion of this type of public employment and recession-induced financial stringency has imposed restraints on some subdivision of government. It is therefore premature to project a sustained growth of the transition, intermediary, and human services in all countries, but these services clearly have not reached their maximum strength.

GOVERNMENT PROVISION

Given these aspects of government-created transition, intermediary, and human services employment, it is surprising that there has been so little discussion of whether government should be providing these services at all and whether they should be free to all. To one American observer, these public services seem doomed to be less satisfactory than those offered by private facilities because public services consist of "minimally motivated staffs providing services of dubious quality to a minimally appreciative clientele" (61, 64). However, in most of Western Europe it is accepted without question that government is either the only willing source of such services or else the only source which can provide adequate services free of the corrupting profit motive. Even an American who maintains that "government should stay away from any area in which there is some hope for private initiative" concedes that few of these services are "sufficiently profitable to interest the business community" (61, 64). Positive endorsement of government provision of labor market information, one type of intermediary service, is offered by American economists who liken such an information service to the social investment in human capital through education. Free public services are necessary for those who cannot afford to pay or who may not receive equal or adequate treatment at the hands of private sources (954, 8-9).

The opposition, rather than arguing that government should be entirely absent from this field, urges that competition should be provided by private agencies and that fees should be charged by public intermediary services (252, 101; 61, 64; 439, 199-205). These positions, taken most frequently in the English-speaking world, arise from the belief that the public and private intermediaries each has its own virtues and that each can be improved by open competition.

Deriving from the theory of public expenditures which separates collective public services, such as national defense, from those like water consumption where individual use can be measured, the idea of fees or prices to users of public services has also gained strength from the theory of human capital. In this theory the individual is seen as investing in himself through education and training, reaping private benefits in the labor market from services which may be partly or wholly financed by the public. Investigations have revealed that public institutions which are supposed to serve all equally and be paid for by all may in fact aid disproportionately, through differential utilization rates, the very segment of society which is better able to finance itself (346; 347). As a consequence, charges for education according to ability to pay might be more equitable than free education to all, especially beyond basic schooling.

In the intermediary services, the case has been made particularly that employers who make use of the public employment service should pay fees to it. Arguing the issue for Great Britain, Fulop maintains that reliance on government funds alone would leave the public employment service permanently undercapitalized and capable only of slow and piecemeal improvement. Fees not only would contribute needed funds but would reveal the types of services in demand by consumers. They also would indicate the services, such as aid to the disadvantaged, which require full subsidy because employers are not willing to pay.

Contrary to the usual effect of imposing prices on previously free goods, the imposition of employer fees, according to some authorities, would improve services and increase the total use of the employment service. It also is argued that employers should be as willing to pay the government as a privider of intermediary services as they are to pay other intermediaries when they perform services (252, 102-3; 439; 754).

Charges to employers have been introduced in Britain's Professional and Executive Recruitment Service (PER), a specialized branch of the public employment service which deals with middle-level management and professional personnel, as well as executive secretaries. Relying on governmental payment of capital costs and other public grants to cover the costs of services to applicants who are not attractive to employers, the PER is a mixed organization which claims in its first years of operations to have taken some business away from the private agencies and to be covering most of its operating costs for placements where fees are paid by employers (297; 295a, d, e). However, costs were high and at the end of 1976 a study was begun of the possibility of merging the PER with other employment service offices.

The example of the PER opens the door to fee-charging to other employers or even to jobseekers. One American authority declares that ideally a public provider of labor market information should charge all users, including jobseekers, according to the costs of supplying the information. Partial or full subsidies should prevail where need exists either on the part of the user or the institution supplying the information (954, 8-9). Another reason for charging the user, developed in psychiatry and other therapeutic services but cited also in connection with voactional guidance services, is the alleged connection between payment for a service and the client's active participation and appreciation of the service (465, 27; 97, no. 3, 1975, 20). The counterargument is that some people, young persons in particular, who most need the services will not apply if they are required to pay a fee, even a modest one. Fees are also valued because they may improve the image of the service and confer more authority on agency operations. To date, however, most public intermediary services have not charged fees to users and those which do usually gear the fees to income, avoiding flat charges.

A firm position against fees in the public employment service has been taken by the International Labor Office. Its Convention 88 has ruled out the possibility of charging fees to either party. An OECD working party on the public employment service has considered financing in terms of general revenues versus payroll taxes without mentioning user fees. Its conclusion is that a country with an active manpower policy "linked to national goals of full employment, optimum development and utilization of manpower, and economic growth and stability" would naturally rely on general revenues and that a failure to obtain sufficient funds in this way would be "in effect an admission that economic and manpower policy and programme implementation have not yet taken roots" (491, 24).

The linchpin of the argument in favor of charging for heretofore free public services is the possibility of subsidizing those who cannot afford to pay for the service. A particularly favored form of subsidy is the issuance of vouchers to the potential customers. They may cover all or part of the cost of a service and they can be written for use in a single designated place or in a variety of unspecified places. Vouchers may be of varying value, according to the circumstances of the recipient, or can be a uniform amount to each person. As a limited-purpose nonconvertible subsidy, vouchers encourage the recipients to utilize services they might otherwise ignore and provide them with an opportunity to choose among the various dispensers of the service, including a choice between private and public vendors.

If there are several purveyors of the service, supporters of the voucher system claim, there will be healthful competition, freedom of choice, and improved services. But others believe that consumer sovereignty in the public services may lead to price and quality cuts, excessive advertising, and catering to consumer whims rather than provision of good services. For example, some private schools might offer a very short day and long vacations in order to gain the endorsement of the pupils, while others might promise to keep the children in school all day in order to attract the parents; neither type of school schedule is necessarily related to educational considerations.

Some who endorse pricing for public services but are uneasy about the voucher system would prefer that overhead subsidies and specific subsidies on behalf of those who are unable to pay in full should go directly to the institutions which provide the services. In part, this represents a desire to provide financial security to public institutions which may play a broader role in the society than the satisfaction of individual needs. Capricious changes in consumer preferences under the voucher system could undermine or destroy valued public institutions. There also is concern that an uneven distribution of demand for public services or an excess of demand over supply will develop if purchasing power is placed directly in the hands of consumers. Some people fear that the information and administrative problems inherent in such a program will reduce utilization by poorly educated people or minority groups will language difficulties, unless auxiliary support programs exist. In addition, since advance planning and a long construction period are required to develop facilities and personnel, the uncertainties of the voucher system may hamper the growth of institutions. Finally, under the voucher system, some competent private institutions may have to be declared ineligible because they discriminate against certain groups or offer them inadequate services.

Whether government should be the sole or main provider of intermediary services and whether fees should be charged for all or some of the services is discussed more in the United States and Great Britain than in most of the other industrial countires and there is no visible consensus, even within countries.

THE SERVICES AND SOCIETY

Because of the special character of the output produced by the intermediary services, issues arise about the social role of these services. The potential conflict between individual requirements and those of the economy, the divergent pressures on the bureaucracy, and the relationships between clients and officials have provoked discussion. In the intermediary services in general and in the transition services specifically, a basic question concerns the role of these services in the evolution of the broader society. Do or can these services function as agents of individual or social change and progress, however that is defined? Or, on the contrary, are they willing or unwilling upholders of the status quo; or even worse, reactionary forces which hold back change in the name of objective, impartial service? If these services claim simply to be nondirective efforts to make people aware of the full range of opportunities available in the society and to help "them to be more autonomous in choosing the alternatives suited to their needs and preference," as Watts and Herr say, they have the difficulty that they ignore the "question of whether society will be able to meet the individual expectations" and pay little attention to "the dysfunctional consequences both for the individual and society if it does not" (925).

The official intermediary services have a tendency to be passive rather than active, to accept existing institutional arrangements rather than to advocate change, and by their nature to have little opportunity to influence basic conditions. Yet, there are some exceptions among the official services and many among the unofficial services, some of which may receive partial or total financial support from public sources. The British Schools Council warns that schools, in their provision of transition services, "must avoid the danger of becoming little more than advance agents of the economy." (319, 30). Urging the career guidance profession to increase its autonomy because professionals can criticize while employees cannot, Ginzberg declares that the transition services must assume the responsibility of altering "those in a position to alter and change institutions to the fact that some institutions operate to the serious disadvantage of various groups" (264, 268-70, 320).

Sweden officially urges personnel engaged in providing transition services to implant critical attitudes in youth toward the information they are being given and the social relations they observe at school and at work. Far from making young people feel they must fit themselves into a rigid job, training, or labor market system, personnel should discuss how these institutions can be altered to meet the needs of individuals. Aware of the power of home, peers, and media in shaping educational and occupational aspirations, the Swedish educational system and its guidance component aim to oppose and offset these influences. Specifically, the information counseling service attempts to "promote a choice of profession that is free from the traditional views of the sex roles," stimulate young people" who receive little support from home ... towards the choice of a longer or more theoretical path of study," and assist those "from homes with a strong educational tradition ... to consider other alternatives than theoretical studies and to make—in view of their social background—an unconventioanl choice of profession" (805, 2, 6; 146b; 147).

In most countries the transition services accept as facts of life the social selection factors inherent in educational attainment along with its impact on job aspirations and choices, as well as the job structure and its selection processes. These attitudes partially explain the apparent paradox that a rigidly segregated educational system with early selection, limited opportunities for transfer, and restricted higher education, as in some European countries, may be more active and effective in its transition services, especially for those destined for the lowest rungs of the economic ladder, than a system like the American or Canadian which offers more comprehensive schools and relatively easy access to higher education.

Indeed, the belief that everyone should have wide educational and employment opportunities may weaken the incentive to provide adequate transition services for those who cannot or do not take advantage; only those who are upwardly mobile command attention. MacMichael suggests that the American school system has been so committed to middle class values and occupations that it has not been able to implant a working class ethic of obedience, conformity, and docility in young Americans. Lacking the European "definable working class with its own traditions and political organization" (509, 285), the United States directs youngsters toward middle class occupations and conveys the message that those entering other jobs are failures.

A small but active opposition thinks of the transition services as essentially conservative and harmful. Like the schools, the transition services may be manipulative, enforcing conformity on young people, concealing the real issues, and defusing anger. They can keep minorities in their place, influence females along traditional occupational paths, and reinforce the social selection process of the schools. An international team of educators, reviewing West Germany's educational policy, has observed that in practice "testing-guidance-orientation-selection mechanisms have appeared to serve to put children down; to dub them as 'inferior'; to justify spending less tax money on them; and to get the world's dirtier jobs done" (602, 54-5). A book review of The School Counsellor rebukes its British author because he did not "confront the morality of how far pupils should be counselled to make them fit into poor courses in inferior schools, which lead to inferior jobs" (576d). Maizels claims that "the pattern of demand for young labour undermines any attempt" of the transition services "to fulfill their stated aims" (510, 315), leads them to prepare and advise large numbers of children to accept unrewarding jobs, and even causes them to conceal the true nature of these jobs and their prospects from the school leavers likely to enter such jobs. Society reduces the vocational guidance service "to the level of an agent whose purpose is to facilitate the transactions of the juvenile labour market" (510, 316).

In the rhetoric of the neo-Marxist educational analysts, the transition services impart a false air of voluntarism to student choices which are in fact determined by the needs of capitalist production. To such analysts it appears that the function of the schools and the intermediary services, reflecting their role "as integral links in the larger institutional allocation of unequal power and income," is to reproduce "the economic relations of the larger society" (263, 72, 84). Another criticism of providers of intermediary services berates them for "carrying out piecemeal acts of betterment, but making no difference whatsoever to the general condition of man" which can only be improved through political action (337, 28). While the majority of those providing transition services do not urge radical changes in employment opportunities or in other institutions, some British personnel who question the existing social and economic system are becoming unwilling to provide the transition services in traditional forms, though they are unsure about the proper substitutes. (576f).

A related issue faced by some intermediary and transition services is the assertion that a conflict exists between two goals: that of fostering self-development and individual choice, on the one hand, and the social objective of meeting labor market demand, on the other. As the more detailed discussion in chapter 6 indicates, the two sides in this debate show little inclination to reconcile their differences.

Debate over policy issues in the intermediary and transition s services has a special sharpness because of the feeling in some places that the bureaucracy does not agree on goals and lacks good faith. Gaps between official pronouncements and behind-the-scenes attitudes and activities arise from conflict among the divergent objectives of agencies, the power of lobbies of professionals to determine needs and programs, the displacement of goals by bureaucratic aims, and a failure or inability of conservative or specialized personnel to respond to changed directions and methods. There may be a tendency for organizations and professionals to equate their own expansion with the provision of a better service to their clients, an identity of interests which may not be visible to the outside observer.

In the intermediary services a key issue is the nature of the relationship between the dispenser of services and the client. Although there is widespread agreement that a paternalistic or directive attitude is inappropriate or harmful, few services have reached the point where the clients, individually and in groups, participate actively in the planning, implementation, and control of these services. Nor are many programs able to claim that they treat the whole individual through related, coordinated services. A disputed matter involves the deliverate restriction of the intermediary and transition services to those who voluntarily seek them, on the ground that only such persons can benefit. A strong body of opinion maintains that many who most need the services would be neglected if this principle were observed.

The needs of clients often take second place to internal events and pressures within agencies. A cynical British observer, noting that "the people whose real needs are being satisfied in most youth organizations, are the adult organizers," even faults personnel with radical learnings for neglecting the desires of young people in favor of a "response to self-perpetuating adult structures that pretend to be there primarily for young people" (576i). Finally, the intermediary and transition services are frequently the scene of private games played by unwilling or incompetent personnel and unreceptive or hostile clients.

OPERATIONAL PHASES

Intermediary and transition services tend to follow a certain pattern as they progress from new innovations to established institutions. Five stages are discernible. At the outset, especially in the planning stage, the greatest emphasis is placed on the inputs—the number and type of personnel to be hired, the number and location of offices, the staff training courses, the organizational structure, the sources of occupational information, etc. As the programs develop, quantitative outputs take center stage—in the transition services it is the number of young people interviewed, the number of courses given or meetings held, the number of pamphlets released, the number of placements made, the ratio of personnel to clients.

A more advanced stage is reached when searching questions are raised about the qualifacations and performance of the practitioners and disseminators. Are the services operating as they were intended? How do schools use the occupational materials provided to them? Do teachers know enough about the work world to inform their pupils? Are the guidance counselors giving directive or nondirective advice and which is preferable? Do the placement offices have good access to the community's job vacancies for youth? Have all the potential sources been drawn into active participation?

At the next level of awareness, the reactions of the consumers of the various services and the public assume importance. What do pupils think of the career information they receive? Do they retain or use much of it in making educational or occupational decisions? Have the parents participated to the extent that was planned? What are the employers' opinions of the services offered and of the young people they interview? From the feedback, changes can be made in programs. Differences among individuals and groups may emerge as critical factors in the design and execution of the intermediary services. It may become important to differentiate services, offer remedial services, and give extra time and resources to certain age, sex, educational, and social groups whose needs are greater than average or whose other sources of assistance are inadequate.

The final sophistication is achieved when the question is asked: what difference do these services make in the actual outcomes to individuals? What would happen if they did not exist? Are the options open to individuals wider than they ohtherwise would be? Are the expenditures justified by the results for individuals and society?

Hoyt has suggested a set of criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of transition services, based on a comparison of those who received services and those who did not. The rest would be applied soon after the first job was taken and would concentrate on various aspects of adjustment to work life. Recognizing that his criteria are "based on a set of values which are held by only a part of our society," Hoyt has accompanied his list with suggestion that the criteria acceptable to various subcultures should be researched so that the list could be modified or made into multiple lists (403, 6-7).

Hoyt's assumption that behavior and performance after leaving school can be entirely or largely attributed to the transition services is questionable. Such a judgment is difficult to make, in part because the transition services are not a single force but a group of separate services dispensed by different individuals and groups. Moreover, in contrasting those who have received services with those who have not, the test sets the difficult task of holding constant all other factors about the young people. Perhaps the most serious objection to Hoyt's approach is its failure to include the cost aspect.

MONITORING AND EVALUATING SERVICES

Public expenditures on intermediary and transition services have been rising rapidly. A British calculation shows a 500 percent growth at constant prices from 1953 to 1973 in public spending on personal social services, a category which does not entirely coincide with out concept of intermediary and transition services, but is largely the same. This rate of increase exceeds that for any other public expenditure sector (576h, j, k).

The problem for public policy is to decide how much to allocate to these activities, given the competing claims of other public programs. Unmet needs are constantly being discovered and infinite room exists to increase the quantity and improve the quality of intermediary services. Citing their potential for good, the services clamor for more funds, personnel, and activities. Hence the need to develop methods to judge programs, a movement initiated in the United States. Other countries are now following suit, since both the financial realities and the temper of the times call for more than an accounting of how public funds are spent; they require evidence that programs actually are structured and operate as they were intended, are efficiently managed, produce the anticipated results at the least possible cost, and yield benefits, broadly conceived, which exceed costs, comprehensively calculated. Although many social programs still are initiated and expanded as acts of faith, one can expect increasing attention to the methods of social experimentation, monitoring, and evaluation.

Social experimentation in the intermediary and transition services has severe limitations because of difficulties in developing service delivery models before the experiment begins and conducting unchanged programs over the life of the experiment. There also are ethical and legal issues affecting the participants and problems in drawing inferences from results. Yet social experiments are attractive because they are less costly than ineffective social policies launched on a large scale and may yield data unavailable through traditional research methods (695; 692). The usual method in social experimentation is to provide services to one group, while denying them to a control group. A more interesting model, used in Sweden, introduces a third group which thinks it is receiving services but in fact obtains no positive assistance (684, 60).

Both monitoring and evaluation can be applied to social experiments, but more frequently they are associated with social programs, including the intermediary and transition services. The difference between monitoring and evaluation is not absolute, but monitoring always involves current observation as the program proceeds. Evaluation can begin before or after the program has ended, but always should continue long enough to enable judgments to be made about the impact on participants as well as the broader social and economic effects. Monitoring may suggest immediate changes in program practices or aims, either because of a failure to implement the original intentions of a program or unforseen circumstances. As the longer-run, more basic instrument, an evaluation usually strives not to influence a program's objectives or procedures, but unintended effects may result from the mere fact that an evaluation is in process.

While both monitoring and evaluation are important instruments, most of the discussions of the technical, procedural, and policy problems have concerned evaluation. It is suggested that evaluation studies which yield counterintuitive findings should be questioned, and some analysts urge the establishment of competing hypotheses and multiple evaluation teams. A number of analysts and policymakers, especially outside the United States, have reservations about the evaluation process as it is practiced, the validity of conclusions drawn from evaluations, and the method's usefulness for policy which ultimately is formed in the political arena (119; 445; 462; 462; 466; 24, 25).

The intermediary and transition services are particularly affected by these caveats, since program objectives and activities are apt to be multiple, uncertain, difficult to measure, subject to change, variable from place to place and even diverse among individual practitioners. It is difficult to discover which part of the outcome is attributable to the particular service and which part is due to other influences. In the nature of the case, these services are "lumpy" investments, applied heavily at particular times, but intended to act on the continuum of an individual's lifetime experience. Moreover, even a service which produces no visible results may be useful because individuals benefit from being able to consult someone. People who report that a particular service has made no appreciable difference in their lives nevertheless praise the particular service and urge that it should be expanded or that others should be exposed to it. Even services which are rejected or opposed by clients may be socially valued. In any case, a service should not be judged solely by results, but also should be rated on whether it treats its clients humanely and shows respect for the individual. However, the quality of services is less measurable than their quantity, and quality tends to be neglected in evaluations which reckon costs. Finally, objections are raised to the whole process of checking up on the results of these services. In Denmark this position has been tied to guarding the "liberty of the individual, even the liberty to make a mess of one's life." (608, 49).

The role of the research and evaluation function varies greatly, not only among countries, but within countries where several agencies exercise responsibility for different programs or parts of a program. It is possible to operate a fairly effective program without much research and evaluation, and some countries which are prone to research and evaluation efforts seem to make little progress in generalizing and standardizing their programs. Despite the major problems which plague evaluation of the intermediary and transition services, it is important to improve the evaluation process rather than return to the earlier haphazard methods of initiating, expanding changing, and judging social programs. A high priority must be given to the advancement of evaluation concepts and techniques in view of the sizeable social resources committed to the intermediary and transition services and the urgency of the problems which have led to the expansion of the services.

The general observations in this chapter about human, intermediary, and transition services are introductory to a detailed consideration of the transition services which aid young people to move from school to work. To begin with, chapter 3 presents a comparative analysis of how various countries organize these services.

CHAPTER 3. ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS AND FORMS

In an ideal, comprehensive system the transition services would encompass a wide range of coordinated activities offered more or less sequentially to all types of youth and, in many cases, to their parents as well. As defined here, the transition services exclude both the usual subject matter of education and the direct creation of occupational skills. The full range of transition services includes: broad orientation and information about educational choices and their occupational implications and a wide introduction to the world of work and its requirements; individual and group counseling to assist educational and occupational choices; job placement; assistance to young people in the induction to work; and follow-up services to young workers which aid them in work adjustment and job changing and which provide information about further training and education opportunities. As chapter 1 explains, the present study is confined to the transitions between various forms and levels of education and between school and work. The importance of the transition to adulthood and the preparation for nonwork roles is not denied, but the complexity of these subjects requires specialization in both analysis and the provision of services.

In practice, countries vary in their commitment to a comprehensive range of transition services; the intensity, scope, and continuity of their activities; the degree of attention given to various types of youth; and their specific approaches. The state of the economy also strongly influences the type and amount of transition services. A period of rapid economic growth and a shortage of young workers, such as western Europe and Japan experienced in the 1960's, encourages expansion of the transition services, enhances day-to-day operations, and fosters more ambitious goals than can be urged when the labor market is gluttered. In less prosperous periods some of the advances of the full employment period may be retained, with adaptation to the increased youth unemployment, but it is rare that a country which has lagged behind in good times will introduce an advanced program during a recession.

Countries in which parents, community, employers, and trade unions take an active independent role in aiding young people in the transition process usually also tend to have a wider range and greater quantity of public transition services than other countries. Moreover, as has been noted earlier, countries which have sharp class divisions and limited numbers in education beyond the compulsory level have a greater tendency to establish comprehensive transition services, first for early school-leavers and then at all levels, than countries which stress access to education and upward mobility. The goals and organizational patterns of the transition services in various countries are also influenced by the power and philosophy of the nation's educational establishment, the strength of an independent, psychologically-oriented guidance movement, the vitality of the manpower institutions, and the nation's political institutions and style.

The range of transition services in each country influences the organizational forms adopted, and in turn the organizational structure affects the amount and kind of services and the effectiveness of the delivery system. Discussing this relationship, a French expert emphasizes the need for "compatibility between the targets set and the means employed for achieving them" (605,41). While the organizational forms are not an automatic predictor of the quality of the transition services, the chances of effectively establishing the full range of services are increased when organizational structures and procedures are sound in practice as well as theory. In cross-national comparisons of transition programs it is important to evaluate actual practices as well as official declarations of policy and intention.

It is inherently difficult to devise a comprehensive administrative structure which provides all of the transition services and satisfies the needs and interests of all concerned parties. While most countries state that the transition services must bridge the worlds of education and work, they do not agree that a distinctive and independent intermediary agency is required nor are they united on how the tasks of the transition should be shared among various agencies. Everyone concedes that the schools and other educational institutions must ve deeply involved in the implementation of the initial stages of the transition services. But it does not follow that all or even the chief responsibility for information and guidance should be vested in the educational system, especially in individual schools, colleges, universities, or teachers and professors. The case against exclusive educational activity is even stronger for placement, induction, and follow-up services.

The arguments in favor of the educational institutions center on their proximity to and knowledge of pupils' interests and problems, the essentially educational nature of the information-guidance function, the continuous and personalized assistance needed by young people from an early age, the interrelation of educational and occupational guidance, the need to influence educational policy, and the possibility of easy cooperation with other specialists on the educational team, such as school psychologists, health officers, welfare or social workers, and probation officers. In some countries it is argued that no agency apart from the schools could or would supply the necessary services. But in practice it is far from clear that the schools are willing or able to act as the principal agents in furthering a smooth transition. Despite the belief of many parents and children that the transition services are among the most important functions of the schools, some educational theroists and teachers tolerate transition activities as an inferior intruder in the schools, akin to the lesser nonacademic subjects. Others hold that the transition services are alien, conflicting with, or irrelevant to education's purposes.

A recurrent complaint in France has been that the educational system does not concern itself with what happens to young people when their schooling is finished. Sauvy, the distinguished French social scientist, has observed that "education pays no attention to jobs, and as the inheritor of the Middle Ages, it scorns technology" (486a). Echoing these sentiments the 1970 basic report of the Commissariat général du plan asserted that the structure and content of the educational system make youth unfit for the work world (238). Recent efforts to combat these views have been vigorous but only partially successful. Not only France perceives such attitudes in the educational establishment attitudes which are slow to yield to the pressures from outside. Discerning a bias against industry in Britain's universities, a director of the Industrial Society complains that the only occupations respected by the universities are "teaching, the law, the medical profession or the government service" (97, summer 1973, 41).

Apart from its alleged adverse attitudes toward certain sectors of the economy, the educational system has been criticized as being "teacher-oriented and not student-oriented, and subject-oriented because teachers are masters of certain subjects" (930, 23). In its sweeping condemnation of American schools as socialization agencies, the report of the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee raises additional objections to the predominance of educational institutions in the transition (894). Many who believe that young people need assistance in the transition are skeptical that teachers or school-based counselors, even with specialized training, can provide the whole range of transition services. Teachers are widely seen as knowing little about diverse occupations or the world of work and as being competent to speak only about teaching. In Canadian high school guidance classes "complaints were registered among the students from homes of fathers in manual occupations that teaching was overemphasized" (333, 70-1).

Moreover, young people who question or distrust teachers and parents who have unpleasant memories of school may respond poorly to transition services which emanate from the educational institutions. In particular, it is argued that disadvantaged young people may only be helped by an outside agency.

Watts and Herr raise broader issues about the role of schools. They ask whether it is possible for "students to engage in honest, deep and comprehensive exploration of self in institutions which they perceive to be largely concerned with controlling them and assessing them in relation to a rather limited set of intellectual skills" (925). Further questions involve the possibility of developing decisionmaking skills in institutions which give young people little control over their day-to-day lives and the likelihood of preparing for the transition to adulthood in institutions largely closed off from the community. If the structure of schools actually thwarts the maturation and development process which would occur in the absence of schools, as the deschoolers maintain, then the transition services are merely a structured replacement for natural processes (925).

Further reasons to disqualify educational institutions from bearing chief responsibility for the transition services are their understandable focus on first jobs, their orientation in some countries toward only the next level of education, their inadequate relations with employers, their limited coverage of the labor market, their conflict or overlapping in some functions with nearby schools or manpower agencies, and their weaknesses in induction, follow-up, further placements, and aid to unemployed youth.

Despite the deficiencies of the educational institutions many countries continue to rely on them as the principal agency for transition services, to the extent that these are offered. These countries, among them the United States, Canada, Switzerland, Belgium, and Italy, have difficulty in providing a balanced, comprehensive, and integrated transition program and are particularly weak in aspects which involve the labor market or relations with labor market institutions. Usually unable or unwilling to deliver the full range of services themselves, the educational institutions are rarely able to arrange a satisfactory liaison with other agencies which might fill the gaps. In the liaison effort, countries in which the educational system is decentralized and under local control, as in the United States, are more handicapped than those where education is centrally directed, as in France. The brief country profiles which follow concern nations that rely heavily on their educational institutions for the transition services.

The United States stands out for the degree of its reliance on individual schools and colleges; its weak provision of all the transition services; its spotty history of cooperation with the employment service, employers, and trade unions; and the great diversity of standards and practices from one place to another. Uniformity cannot be found even within a local school district and does not exist within a state, let alone a region (584; 586; 840, 254-5; 841, 48-9). Surveying only those American schools with an active interest in transition services, the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education discovered a wide variety of practices and effectiveness in 1973 (567). Two American authorities discerned "inadequate linkages ... between counseling and education, training, placement, job adjustment and follow-up" (345, 181). An experienced British visitor who made an extensive tour of American schools in 1972 found American provision inferior to British, noting many weaknesses and disparities in the transition services offered directly by American schools or in cooperation with other agencies (922, 31). Yet official and unofficial opinion in the United States, reinforced by the Career Education movement, is strongly oriented towards school-centered, decentralized, ad hoc arrangements for the transition services, although acknowledging the need for cooperation with the employment service, employers, and the community (946; 400; 521; 567).

Belgium's inadequate transition services stem from the language, ethnic, and political divisions in a small nation, the current movement to regionalize national authorities, and, above all, the dominance of the Ministry of Education in matters concerning young people. Distrust of the schools' ability to offer adequate personal and educational guidance has led to the creation of an independent system outside the schools, the Psycho-Medical Social Service, but it pays little attention to the labor market (612, 69-73, 92-3; 624a, Belgium, 6). An expert British study reported that it took no more than the first 10 minutes of discussion in Belgium to reveal that "a Belgian vocational guidance system as such did not exist" for those in educational institutions (97, summer 71, 44). The Ministry of Labor's National Employment Office (ONEM) which operates programs for unemployed youth, experimentally approached individual schools in 1974 offering to aid new school-leavers who were entering the labor market. But a report on the nation's labor market agencies by the Belgian Christian trade union federation (CSC) at about the same time complained of poor integration and delivery by ONEM itself (55: 54).

Long deficient in transition services, France operates under a highly centralized educational system, a legacy of the Revolution and its declared aim of eradicating regional and class differences in educational opportunities. France now maintains a parallel structure of three separate, national agencies for information, counseling, and placement. The National Office for Educational and Occupational Information (ONISEP), under the Ministry of Education, has its own regional offices which adapt national information materials to local requirements and distribute them, but ONISEP does not function within the schools. Counselors have been organized for some time in the CIO(Centres d'information et d'orientation), also under the Ministry of Education The CLIO maintains local offices outside schools, separate from ONISEP offices, and conducts some activities within schools. The National Employment Service (ANPE), an all-age service which offers some specialized placement service for youth in its local offices, does not function within the schools, although some liaison is maintained with schools.

At the national level the coordination of the separate French agencies is accomplished by interministerial committees which have representation from relevant segments of the public and rotate their directors so that individuals with labor market interests and experience may serve in the Ministry of Education agencies. Within the Ministry of Education, a Bureau of Orientation attempts to improve the elementary and secondary schools' use of educational and occupational information and fosters contacts among pupils, parents, and teachers.

Apart from trying to gain acceptance of the transition services by the directors of schools, the French method lacks a concept of a system of transition services. France still must train its psychologically-oriented counselors to use and disseminate educational-occupational information and greater cooperation between ONISEP and CIO activities, that is, between information and guidance, is needed. And France has yet to bring placement, induction, and follow-up services directly to new school-leavers. Similar difficulties exist in several other countries that do not entrust transition services outside of the educational system. For example, a recent reorganization of manpoower services in Ireland debated the question of the proper division of tasks between the educational and manpower agencies (517, 42-3).

Switzerland may be a special case. Effective transition services by the schools are attributed to the survival of small communities where a strong and representative cross section of citizens is actively interested in the schools and in the young people about to enter the work world and where teachers meet frequently and informally with employers who serve on the boards of local schools (604, 14-33).

BRIDGING AGENCIES

Several other countries—Great Britain, Japan, Sweden, Norway, and West Germany—reject the idea that their individual schools should be largely responsible for the transition services as part of their normal operations and have developed organizations outside the schools for dispensing transition services. A British analyst has said that a permanent bridging agency, directly tied neither to individual schools nor to employers, is required to link the two separate worlds "so long as schools will not think beyond education and industry beyond production" (899, 4). A bridging agency also may help schools to keep abreast of changes in occupational and industrial information and aid employers to understand the new developments in education and to utilize young people effectively. While the full sweep of transition services is not monopolized by a single administrative body in any of these countries, all of them offer more integrated and comprehensive services than the countries previously described. Denmark, Finland, and Austria in principle also are in this group, but the weakness of their labor market agencies in fact has left transition activities largely to the schools.

Whether a bridging agency always is superior to independent operations by schools depends on its legal status and on the degree of acceptance such an agency enjoys, both from the schools and from employers. The British Careers Service (formerly Youth Employment Service), a bridging agency which is related to the educational system but is not directly a part of individual schools, has been faulted both on its ability to penetrate the schools and its relations with employers, although the latter have been even less responsible in the past to the adult employment service (701; 700; 699; 105; 101-6; 295g). The history of the British bridging agency reveals fully the potential competition between education and labor market agencies.

GREAT BRITAIN: PIONEER

The present British arrangements for transition services are the direct outcome of a long and continuous history originating before World War I when two landmark laws were enacted in a spate of social legislation. Extending the efforts of voluntary organizations and school teachers who traditionally accepted a pastoral role, Britain pioneered a public, nation-wide transition program for young school-leavers in the Labour Exchanges Act of 1909, which created special juvenile employment bureaus in the public labor exchanges. However, the 1909 act was opposed both by local education authorities, some of whom already had established similar bureaus, and the national Board of Education, which felt that the preparation for work had a strong educational element and should be at least partially the task of the schools. Exerting legislative pressure, the education interests obtained passage of the Education (Choice of Employment) Act in 1910. This law permitted each local education authority (LEA) in England and Wales to operate its own juvenile employment bureau for young people under 17, raised to 18 in 1918. By 1919, 20 percent of the LEAs had chosen to operate such bureaus.

While the simultaneous existence of the 1909 and 1910 acts created a considerable potential for conflict and duplication between the LEAs and the new employment service, several significant principles were established very early. First, a national policy was established that every local area must offer transition services, through the employment service of the LEA; there was no local option to decline to provide services. Second, the schools did not conduct transition services as an ordinary part or extension of education, and where the LEA-based service was chosen, it became a bridgingagency. Third, the conceptual framework, even if not the actual practice, encompassed the full range of transition services. Fourth, a separate service was established for youth, leaving to other agencies those in postsecondary or higher education as well as adults. Fifth, a disparity in the quantity and quality of services was permitted from area to area.

At the outset, the reconciliation of the 1909 and 1910 acts was the issue. A working compromise was soon arranged whereby the participating LEAs, through designated teachers or special officers, concentrated on occupational guidance, while the employment exchange officers serving juveniles handled job placements, either through their own youth bureaus or the LEA juvenile employment bureaus (699, 16-8; 362). This was generally unsatisfactory to both parties, and in Manchester there was "open discord and the threat of physical violence between members of the staff" (664, 27). A decision was made in 1923 that those LEAs which chose to exercise their permissive powers should provide all services, including the issuance of unemployment insurance cards and payment of unemployment benefits, while in the remaining localities, the Ministry of Labour would offer all services, one under the Board of Education and one under the Ministry of Labour. As a response to ensuing criticism, the 1927 reorganization brought those LEAs operating their own juvenile employment bureaus under minor supervision by the Ministry of Labour which paid 50 percent of the service's cost, raised to 75 percent in 1935. Scotland had a different, simpler legal provision, but only Edinburgh used it (699, 18-20; 301e, app. 2).

Before World War II ended, discussions were initiated by the Ince Committee to improve the organization and functions of the Juvenile Employment Service. There were new issues; the 1944 Education Act provided that the school-leaving age should be raised to 15, a policy to maintain full employment had been declared, local education authorities were being reorganized, and most social services were being reexamined. But the Ince Committee could not agree either to designate the

Ministry of Labour to serve all local areas or to comple each LEA to establish a service, so once more a compromise on the dual system was recommended.

Embodying the Ince Committee proposals, the Employment and Training Act of 1948 required all local education authorities to decide once and for all whether they wished to operate a Youth Employment Service which would serve all young people under 18 at school and work in theri area. A great majority of the LEAs (by 1970, 132 of 163 in England and Wales and 11 of 35 in Scotland) opened to provide the service themselves, thus covering 80 to 85 percent of the school population. Rural countries, small country boroughs, and Scotland were the main area where Ministry of Labour offices (later called the Department of Employment) persisted. Thus, the dual system remained, but LEA services dominated the scene (699, 20-2; 298, 21; 301d, 2; 301e, app. 2).

The 1948 act, reaffirming and strengthening the earlier principles on which the transition services were founded, also made some tentative gestures toward centralization and uniformity of standards. A new executive body was established within the Ministry of Labour. Called the Central Youth Employment Executive (CYEE), it included representatives of education and had the tasks of coordinating the interests of the education and manpower authorities, controlling expenditures under the 75 percent grant, setting minimum or approved standards for local offices, and generally supervising operations through the CYEE inspectors. The CYEE allowed LEAs considerable local autonomy. This was especially true of the Principal Careers Officer who largely controlled day-to-day administration and innovations. Possessing the ultimate power to recommended withdrawal of the national 75 percent subsidy, a power never actually used, the CYEE could have exerted an advisory influence beyond its legal mandate. While the backing of the CYEE at times made a local Youth Employment Service somewhat more independent of its LEA than might otherwise have been possible, the CYEE deliberately maintained a low profile. Through a small staff, the CYEE organized training courses for careers officers, published and distributed careers literature, conducted some research, offered advice on administration and operations, and in other ways raised standards and created elements of uniformity among the separate LEA and Ministry of Labour units.

The 1948 act also created an advisory body to the Youth Employment Service at the national level, the National Youth Employment Council (NYEC), as well as separate advisory committees for Scotland and Wales. Composed of educators, employers, trade union officials, and knowledgeable individuals, the NYEC reviewed the work of the Youth Employment Service throughout the country, conducted special inquiries, and published triennial reports including advice for the improvement of the Service. At the local level, the advisory committees appointed by the LEAs or the Department of Employment assisted in the contacts with employers, supported the Principal Youth Employment Officer in negotiations with the LEA, and circulated information to the public, (699, 22-9, 904, 1-12; 622, 172). Finally, the Institute of Careers Officers, a voluntary national organization of personnel who were employed by the

LEAs, created a forum for the exchange of experience and views, as well as a pressure group in public policy.

In the postwar period the Youth Employment Service was subjected to a considerable amount of analysis, although other British social services may have received more attention. Compared with the meager analysis of the transition programs of other countries, the Y E S , as a completely separate entity, was well researched. Studies based on local areas or particular views tended to be critical (104; 421; 422; 699; 510; 481; 734). But nationwide surveys, undertaken for government agencies rendered more favourable judgments (321; 501; 843; 844). The influential Albermarle report of 1965, while suggesting improvements, was generally favorable (317), Careers Officers, as Youth Employment Officers preferred to be known, frequently complained in their journal, Careers Quarterly, that their service was unknown and unappreciated. Their view was in sharp contrast to the National Youth Employment Council's judgment that the Y.E.S. was "widely acknowledged as a professional, sophisticated and essential public service" (301e, 54). Objectively, the Y.E.S. could show growth and progress in the 1960s, as evidenced in an expansion of staff; higher professional standards in recruitment, promotion, and training; a reduction in the ratio of clients to staff; development of specialist officers; increased information and guidance activities on behalf of pupils, parents, and employers; and better relations with schools.

Yet several issues made the future of the Y.E.S. uncertain. One was the dual system, officially characterized as "peculiar to this country" and one which no other country starting a similar service "would actually have devised" (302, app. 1). While no one favored dualism, opinion was divided on whether the service should be education or employment-based; in the British governmental system this also raised the issue of local or national control. Moreover, as attempts were begun in 1970 to restructure all the public employment and training services, a serious challenge arose to the continuation of the Y.E.S. in independence and isolation from the adult placement and guidance services. The British debate over youth's need for a separate transition agency was fuller and more heated than elsewhere. Supporting the view that it was perfectly possible to reconcile the idea of a national careers service for adults with a local authority-based careers service for young people, a president of the Institute of Careers Officers maintained that "the needs of young people soon to enter first employment are very different from those of adults changing their occupations in later life" (97, autumn 1973, 18). Another argument cited the desirability of retaining the status of pupil for young workers, serving them through the education authority and the related local social services (97, spring 1972, 13).

To those who questioned this perception, the possible advantages of a separate service for youth were far outweighed by the losses incurred through a chronological division. The OECD reviewers of British manpower policy stressed the value of introducing the young to a single agency, the public employment service, "from the beginning of their search for the most suitable combination of education, training, work practice, experiments with income-earning and settling for an occupation with longer prospects....Otherwise they may never learn to use the PES" (622, 172). An employer representative reported that girl school-leavers often went to private employment agencies to seek jobs because these signified adulthood, while the youth service seemed a link with childhood. The representatives also said that employers were confused by the large number and variety of agencies and individuals offering transition services and the differences in the type and standards of service they offered. A "more united framework" was recommended (734, #20-4).

It was argued that a labor market agency would cover all age groups, deal with the national labor market, study trends, and coordinate educational with occupational information and guidance. Integration of the youth services with all manpower services would give youth access to the latter's specialist services. For member countries of the European Economic Community, a labor market agency's knowledge of employment opportunities abroad could also be an important service to young people. Because so many adults were receiving retaining or continuing education through the educational system, the case was even stronger for a single institutional link between the schools and the work world.

Even if age distinctions and separate agencies were retained, the Y.E.S. upper age limit required adjustment in light of the proposed raising of the compulsory school-leaving age to 16 and the increasing tendency of young people to remain in school until 18. A further development which affected the Y.E.S. was the growth within the schools of educational, occupational, and personal guidance services. Part-time and full-time careers teachers, in particular, increased markedly during the 1960s and appeared to have an important future as well as a potential for reducing the careers officer's function and power. As some authorities saw it, no clear method had been devised to combine all of these personnel. At a minimum, working relationships between school-based careers teachers and other school personnel and Y.E.S. officers needed to be formalized. In addition, despite the existence of Y.E.S., schools and individual teachers had long been competitive in placing school-leavers in jobs. Finally, an occasion for reconsidering the structure of Y.E.S. was presented by the reduction in the number of local authorities, the redrawing of their boundaries, and the creation of intermediary level bodies (132, 2-13; 608, 24-32; 699, 120-40; 294; 164, 18-20; 317).

The decisions reached in the Employment and Training Act of 1973, effective in 1974, supported the educational rather than the manpower agencies. If removed the old dual system, making the renamed Careers Service a mandatory obligation for each L.E.A. Replacing the Central Youth Employment Executive in the Department of Employment was a nominally less powerful interagency liaison committee and the Careers Service Branch with a corps of inspectors, which may, in fact, play much the same role as the inspectorate of the former CYEE. A Careers, Service Advisory Council began to function at the end of 1976, replacing the defunct NYEC.

The law also removed the previous age limit of 18, giving the Careers Service responsibility for leavers from all public educational institutions up to higher education level. (The latter long have had their own Careers Advisory and Appointments Board and university students also consult the Occupational Guidance Units and the Professional and Executive Register of the adult Employment Services Agency.) Under the new law, the general understanding is that young people below university level will use the Careers Service before their first jobs. Thereafter, they will be free to choose either to return to the Careers Service or go to the adult guidance and employment service However, there is nothing in the statue to prevent a young person from consulting the Occupational Guidance Units or Job-centre placement officers of the adult employment service on leaving school, and, in fact, these dault services have already aided some youngsters in their first jobs. On the other side, there is nothing in the statute to stop an LEA from establishing a guidance placement service for its entire population, and some LEAs have already done so. It is even reported that some young people have registered with both the Careers Service and Jobcentres.

These are the extremes of possible duplication, overlapping, and competition. But the basic law raises problems which could have been avoided if British tradition and accumulated history had not dictated a compromise solution. The prior existence of a specialized youth agency with local roots and LEA connections has carried a heavy weight, especially since many LEA Careers Officers have not wished to transfer to a national government agency, with its frequent changes of location and job rotation. Some authorities now fear that, even if the various agencies establish cooperative working arrangements, some young people may be confused and will consult neither of the official services. Others are concerned that the Careers Service may be diminished and deprived of functions because of the growth of careers teachers and counselors in the schools, on the one side, and the employment service's revitalized and relatively well-financed Jobcentres, on the other. In addition, the financial squeeze has thus far prevented some LEAs from extending career services beyond compulsory schooling, as the law provides. Much discussion among Careers Officers concerns their future role, with some emphasizing "complete immersion in the employment situation" as the best solution (232, 21).

How have other countries coped with the difficult organizational question of providing comprehensive transition services? While the concept of a bridging agency is accepted by a number of other countries they reject a distinct youth agency such as Britain has and they draw heavily on the national labor market agencies. In fact, Ireland has considered and explicitly rejected the British system, and Finalnd has merged its separate Youth Employment Exchange with the rest of the employment service since March 1973 (624a, Ireland, 6-7; 624a, Finland). The repeated recommendation by Martin Feldstein that the United States should adopt the British model is highly questionable

(220; 221). It is based on outdated and inaccurate data, an exaggerated statement of the accomplishments of the British Y.E.S., neglect of internal criticism, and an inadequate acquaintance with the alternative systems of other countries.

Three models-West Germany, Sweden, and Japan-convey the scope of arrangements among countries which give greater weight to the main labor market agency in the provision of the transition services.

WEST GERMANY

Farthest from the British pattern is West Germany's highly centralized program which is directed by the chief labor market agency, the Federal Employment Institute. Unlike many public functions in the Federal Republic, including education, the manpower agency is not an activity of the states (Länder), but is national in authority and organization. However, the Federal Employment Institute is not a central government department, but rather a self-governing body incorporated under public law with a tripartite directorate representing employers, workers, and the several levels of government. Subject to legal supervision by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the Federal Employment Institute is financially and operationally independent, raising its funds through a payroll tax on employers and workers. The institute has over 30,000 staff members in almost 700 state, local branch, and special offices, as well as liaison offices in the countries of southern Europe from which foreign workers have been recruited (213, 6-17, 26-38).

Possessing monopoly powers over occupational guidance and placement, the Federal Employment Institute takes the leading role in the transition services, although educational information and guidance and occupational orientation are increasingly being developed within the schools. In order to integrate educational and occupational information and guidance, an agreement on this subject was concluded first among the ministers of education of the separate states and then, February 1971, between the Standing Conference of State Ministers and the Federal Employment Institute. A Permanent Contact Commission was established to facilitate cooperative action (24a, b, c; 176). Placement is a Federal Employment Institute monopoly, since private employment agencies are banned and schools are forbidden to make job placements. Under the Act of 1969 (Arbeitsforderungsgesetz), transition services of the institute are offered to all pupils and students whether they complete programs, change courses, or drop out of any level of education through the university. The institute's personnel can enter schools, obtain pupil records, interview pupils, and conduct activities in classrooms. Within the institute and its branches, personnel are somewhat specialized by the clients' age and educational level. The easy acceptance of the Federal Employment Institute personnel by the German schools has impressed a visiting British careers officer who found his own experience less satisfactory, even though British teachers and careers officers are part of the same local education authority (42, 43).

As more German youth undertake prolonged education, the need to offer a greater quantity of and more sophisticated educational information and guidance may detract from the central position of the Federal Employment Institute whose orientation has been primarily toward those leaving the school for jobs or formal training programs offered by employers, such as apprenticeship. The present arrangement has the virtue, in a federal system of education, that if offers a national service with reasonable uniformity of standards throughout the country.

SWEDEN

Before 1973, the transition services were directed by the National Labor Market Board whose operating divisions in the countries and localities had full access to the schools. Semi-independent and constituted much as the German Employment Institute, the Labor Market Board's country and local offices are called the Labor Market Administration, of which the employment service is a prominent part. Besides the efforts of the personnel of the Labor Market Administration, the transition services were carried out in the compulsory school by teacher-counselors whose training was supervised by the Labor Market Administration and half of whose salaries were paid by the manpower agency at one time. In the upper secondary schools, joint efforts of the Labor Market Administration and the schools were utilized. The inadequacy of these arrangements became clear when the educational system was reorganized, compulsory education was prolonged to 16, a majority of young people remained in school until 18 or 19, municipalities were consolidated, and the Labor Market Administration's scarce occupational guidance personnel began to concentrate on adults.

In 1973 a new transition system which gives joint responsibility to the education and manpower agencies was introduced experimentally and gradually; in 1979 the entire system will be reviewed and evaluated. The SYO system (Education and Work Orientation) operates in the compulsory nine-year school and the upper secondary school. Within universities, a separate information-guidance organization exists, also in close contact with the Labor Market Administration. In addition to its active participation in information, guidance, induction, and follow-up services for schools, the Labor Market Administration, through the employment service, has sold public responsibility for job placement of all age groups.

Centrally, the guidelines for the SYO system provide for coordination and cooperation between the education and labor market authorities, as well as participation in planning by the organizations of labor, employers, students, parents, countries, and local authorities. The Board of Education, the Labor Market Administration, and the Vocational Guidance Board are involved at the national level. The Board of Education conducts overall planning, informs the schools about available information sources, and instructs them about the various forms of participation expected of school personnel. Also engaged in central planning, the Labor Market Board provides for the distribution of its informational materials in all media and informs its country and district offices. The Vocational Guidance Board, a national coordinating group which includes representatives of the Labor Market Board, Board of Education, Office of the Chancellor of the Universities, Federation of Local Authorities, and Federation of Country Councils, considers matters requiring joint action, the basic and in-service training of SYO officers, and relationships with other authorities and organizations.

Assistaing the Vocational Guidance Board is an Advisory Group consisting of representatives of organized employers, employees, students, and parents, as well as representatives of the Vocational Guidance Board. The Advisory Group discusses the goals and organization of transition activities and stimulates the production of information by both private and public agencies. For special purposes the Advisory Group can be augmented by representatives of teachers of other personnel, pupil groups, and trade organizations. The Hearing Groups discuss specific issues. Working parties can also be established to tackle particular subjects which require some preparatory work before open discussion is begun. Finally, an Editorial Committee, appointed by the Vocational Guidance Board on the suggestion of the Advisory Group, gives technical and other advice to the producers of educational-occupational materials.

At the regional level the pattern is repeated. Descending to the next level, the individual school plans and coordinates all local transition activities, holding a conference at the start of each school year attended by all relevant school and Labor Market Administration personnel. Under the supervision of the school headmaster, the SYO consultant is in charge of all local and school transition services, cooperating with personnel of the local Labor Market Administration who also have their designated duties. This local coordination among agencies and individuals has several aims: to make SYO an integral part of total school activities; to facilitate cooperation between sending and receiving schools; to foster contacts between school and home; and to establish links between school and the workplace. Central government subsidies for SYO personnel are based on the number of pupils in the various schools.

The new and key figure, the specialized SYO consultant, is not a teacher or a school employee, although certain parts of the SYO program are to be taught in class by regular teachers whose training will include these matters. The SYO consultant is hired by the local authority and may serve more than one school. In many respects, the SYO consultant sounds rather like a Careers Officer in the British system. But there are several important differences. The SYO consultant replaces rather than supplements schoolbased careers teachers in the compulsory school; the latter category will gradually disappear. Moreover, the SYO consultant has direct links with the local labor market agency (804; 805; 806; 830).

Thus far, the training and performance of the SYO consultants has not been entirely satisfactory to all concerned parties. It is felt that the decisions which pupils make about their specialized courses in the upper secondary school require the SYO consultants to have more knowledge about the labor market in general and the specific occupations which will be followed by pupils who enter the two-year vocationally oriented course. The feeling persists in Sweden, as elsewhere, that those who operate the transition services in the schools are oriented more toward professional occupations than toward the types of jobs most pupils will obtain. Moreover, young people are seen as isolated and ignorant about conditions in the community; the broader society, and the work world, in spite of the new efforts. Ways of drawing the organizations which represent the outside world into the life of the school are seen as a necessary supplement to the transition services. For this purpose, a program called SSA (Society, Schools, and Work Life) has been launched experimentally by the National Board of Education (SÖ) and will become permanent and nationwide.

One of the distinctive features of the guidelines for Swedish SYO activities is the emphasis on the needs of disadvantaged youth and special provision for follow-up of such individuals. However, the basic premise of SYO provision is that everyone will complete the compulsory school and that virtually all leaving school at 16 will proceed to the new, unified upper secondary school. After a few years of experience it has become clear that 30 to 35 percent of the 16-year-olds are not entering upper secondary school and another 15 percent drop out soon after starting. A wide variety of measures has been proposed to attract these young people to further study or to some other useful activity which will better prepare them for the labor market. To aid this group further, another experimental program called extended SYO has been introduced in about 50 selected communities where a large assortment of local social and welfare agencies cooperate with the schools and local Labor Market Administration. An interesting feature of the extended SYO program is its provision for active follow-up of the individual youngsters, whether or not they seek aid, to insure that they either have a job or are receiving education.

Following on studies by various official working parties, the government introduced a bill in February 1976 which provides, in part, that there should be compulsory follow-up in all communities of all young people for two years after they leave the compulsory school, or up to 18, starting with those who do not continue to upper secondary school and are not at work. Based on a close cooperation among the schools, social services, and the Labor Market Administration, the follow-up services are supposed to offer every youth alternatives involving education, training, or work. The government bill suggests that the SSA group, mentioned above, should be established nationwide as local and regional planning councils and from the academic year 1977-78 should, among their other tasks, be responsible for the planning and operation of the outreach follow-up activities among youth who do not continue on to upper secondary school. Another service, called intensified employment services for youth, has been launched experimentally in five municipalities by the Labor Market Administration on the suggestion of the Royal

Commission on Long-Term Employment. Aimed primarily at those under 20 who are not employed, the activities are directed by reinforced staffs at the employment service and special youth divisions which have been created in some employment service offices. The commission has recommended to the government that these intensified activities should be prolonged and extended to additional communities and that the SSA groups which have been monitoring the local activities should be established in all municipalities. In the government's bill, the Labor Market Administration's responsibilities in the two year outreach follow-up program of intensified employment services for youth (794, 53-7; 790, 243-6; 834, 278-86).

Although Sweden's SYO system already represents a more advanced approach to the transition services than most countries exhibit, it is noteworthy that, very soon after the new system became operative, it appeared necessary to reinforce the SYO system with the various measures just described. Reflecting the inherent difficulties of the transition and services to ease it, the additional measures are intended to strengthen the ordinary transition services, give special aid to those who do not follow the standard course or who have particular problems, and provide assistance to young workers who are unemployed or unsatisfactorily employed.

Sweden's present system achieves a reasonable balance among labor market and education interests in the organizational structure, and in practice there is a higher degree of cooperation among the various interested parties than most countries can claim. The establishment of a system like the Swedish is predicated on good relations between a strong central government and competent local education authorities who accept direction on some subjects; are responsive to suggestions on other issues, and depart only slightly from a national norm. Moreover, Sweden has the advantage of an established tradition of cooperative participation by all public bodies and the various elements of society, all of which are well-organized and relatively free of power struggles. Other countries may profit from the Swedish example, but they should not be surprised if imitation of the organizational structure is insufficient to produce the expected results.

JAPAN

Japan provides transition services in a variety of ways, but its labor market agency is outstanding in its supervision of the youth labor market and its cooperative arrangements with the educational system and individual schools. An OECD review rated this system "exceptional by comparative country experience" (618, 134). Japanese schools, organized and controlled nationally, are required to provide three distinct kinds of guidance to pupils-personal (including social and moral guidance), health, and starting in the lower secondary schools, educational and vocational orientation and guidance. These tasks are entrusted to teachers who are partially freed of other tasks. This portion is still one of the weak links in the transition services. By law, the public employment service (PESO) also has well defined responsibilities for transition services to young people leaving educational institutions. In the lower secondary schools, PESO usually takes chief responsibility; about 90 percent of lower secondary and 4 percent of upper secondary schools operate in this way. A second arrangement places school principals, in cooperation with PESO, in charge of transition services; over 60 percent of upper secondary schools use this system. Finally, in a third of the upper secondary schools the heads of the schools are in complete charge, after notification of their transition programs to PESO; this also is the procedure in almost all junior colleges, technical institutes, and universities (432, 37). However, PESO provides occupational information at all educational levels.

PESO maintains an annual program of tasks, starting in April when the new term begins. Separate liaison conferences with the lower and upper secondary schools decide on the work plan for the year and sharing of tasks. In connection with these conferences, PESO carries out educational programs for the teacher-counselors to familiarize them with labor market conditions. A major function is the provision of occupational information to the schools and individual pupils, as well as releases to the media. Individual and group guidance and tests are offered by PESO in lower secondary schools.

For pupils leaving school in March, PESO makes estimates by the end of the preceding May of the numbers who will seek jobs. Based on these reports from schools, PESO informs employers of the numbers from various educational levels likely to apply for jobs and plans its placement service operations. PESO also collects job offers from employers, having acquired an unusual degree of control over this area because of the chronic shortage of young workers, the high value placed on new entrants by employers, and a tradition of conformity among employers. Most leavers have jobs prearranged before school ends, having been escorted in groups by PESO to recruiting employers. After the initial job has been selected, PESO offers induction advice to the new entrants. Finally, there is an extensive post-employment guidance and vocational adjustment system (432, 38-9, 93-8). Especially for the lower secondary schools, the Japanese system is comprehensive and strongly based on participation by PESO. Individual schools and business firms often have close relationships with schools serving as feeders.

NATIONAL VERSUS LOCAL PROGRAMS

In addition to decisions on the respective roles of schools, education authorities, and labor market agencies, countries which offer some or all of the transition services also must choose between national and local programs. The choice in the countries with well-developed programs has been either that the basic transition services should be provided by national government agencies through their regional and local subdivisions, as in France and Germany, or that national legislations should make such services mandatory for local governments or education authorities, with some flexibility to allow for local differences and options. Great Britain, by national legislation requiring local education authorities to establish a Careers Service, exemplifies the latter course in regard to all of the services. Japan combines national government activity through the public employment service, some compulsory school services, nationally mandated but locally organized, and some voluntary school placement. Sweden, more centralized than either, combines local and national activities in information, guidance, and follow-up, but leaves placement and induction to a national employment service. In fact, placement is most likely of all the services to be offered by a national agency, even in countries organized in a federal system. Paradoxically, the Federal Republic of Germany has a highly centrally transition program, while the national government of Great Britain is content to require each local education authority to establish its own program, with few requirements as to content or performance.

What is rare is that the decision on whether to have transition services at all should be left to government or education authorities below the national level or even to individual schools, as is the case in such federal countries as the United States, Switzerland, and Australia. There is little support outside of such countries for local authority in this sense. Rather, discussion centers on the proper division of responsibility within a national framework. Advocates of local jurisdiction argue that local government officers can operate as individuals, developing their work and expressing their ideas in a personnel manner and can behave in a nonauthoritarian fashion, in contrast to a more rigid pattern imposed on civil servants of the national government. Experimentation and innovation in programs are more likely to occur in small areas and in the atmosphere of creative rivalry which exists among local governments. Direct services to persons should have a local orientation and sensitivity to local opinion, possible only through local government. A sound knowledge of local employment opportunities is best acquired by a local government body which also is best equipped to press for local needs and to monimize the imbalance which many feel between local and central government.

In rebuttal, the opponents of local control have pointed to facults which seem to arise from local responsibility, especially a lack of uniformity, reliability, and minimum standards in policy, funding, services, and staff. The positive advantages of national control are a wider outlook and more uniform standards, without sacrificing local links and loyalties, as well as a more flexible professional careers structure providing for diversity and for specialization so that each branch would reinforce the others' expertise. For young people who seek jobs outside the local area or even abroad, a national service clearly has advantages.

AGE SPECIFICATION

Countries which thoroughly involve their labor market agencies in some of the transition services reject a separate youth agency, yet

yet they make age distinctions. In fact, it is common to have youth sections or divisions in public placement services; and countries which claim to offer an all-age placement service may in fact show a strong youth bias in their operations. Even Sweden, which has been committed to an all-age placement service since it abolished its youth division in 1966, has found recently that some localities are now operating, or wish to institute, a youth division. Transition services for those leaving higher education tend to be more concentrated within the educational institutions and more independent of or loosely related to the labor market agency than at lower educational levels.

STAFFING

Although countries agree closely on the tasks which must be carried out in a comprehensive transition program, they vary considerably in the type of personnel, the allocation of functions, and the degree of specialization of personnel, as well as status and pay. Within the schools, part-time or full-time work for counselors and careers teac teachers is a debated point. It is a matter of opinion whether and how many psychiatrists, psychologists, and medical doctors should be available and whether they should be hired directly or serve as consultants. New jobs have been created for information officers, college consultants, work experience coordinators, librarians, training officers, industrial liaison officers, unemployment specialists, social workers, and placement assistants in some countries. Especially in the United States, the possibilities of employing paraprofessionals have been explored. Peer group services also are a new direction, more prominent in some countries than others.

Another issue is specialization in a particular type of client within a functional specialty. For example, placement of women by female officers is dying out, but specialized personnel for the disabled, veterans, particular occupations, or various educational levels is fairly common. Some manpower agencies believe in rotating individuals among jobs, but job rotation of this type may result in the assignment of individuals who are indifferent or even hostile to their jobs, although these career ladders may be longer and more rewarding. Without job rotation, problems arise of demarcating jurisdiction, hierarchical ranking, pay, promotion, and transferability, with persistent tensions observed among psychologists, guidance officers, and placement officers, or between teachers and counselors. Even the most highly integrated transition system, the West German, must rely to some extent on the employees of more than one organization. Questions therefore arise as to parity of functions, status, pay, fringe benefits, and working conditions for people doing the same job in different settings (608; 606; 607).

Variations among countries also persist in the ratio of personnel to clients, both desired and actual. It is difficult to compare countries in this respect with regard to the transition services as a whole because of the differences in the types of personnel employed, their multiple functions, and the use of part-time personnel.

QUALIFICATIONS AND TRAINING

Some countries recently have raised their standards for staff recruitment, demanding a higher level of education, not only to ensure better and more up-to-date preparation for the mob, but also to enable personnel to deal with the rising educational levels of young people and to narrow the generation gap through a younger staff. While there is a trend toward recruiting university graduates for transition services, alternate backgrounds in industry or the armed forces with additional training for specific jobs, are sought in some countries, either on principle or because of trade union or political pressures. In some jobs a psychology degree is desired. Teacher training is a familiar background for many who serve in transition services, but it is not mandatory in most countries for a nonteaching post, even one located within the schools. As an exception, in most of the United States guidance counselors in schools are required to qualify, or even to have served, as teachers. Sweden is interesting in that propsective SYO consultants are specifically required to show a period of nonteaching employment before entering the nationally run training course, completion of which is prerequisite to employment by a local education authority.

Many countries have an initial or preparatory training period for new employees, usually a combination of on-the-job and classroom work. But some send new recruits off to a course for several months. Others expect them to be fully prepared and commence work at once. On the issue of further or inservice training of personnel, countries display a range of opinion on the utility of classroom studies versus practical experience. Some countries have highly developed inservice programs with paid leave, while others leave it to the individual to find and finance his own further training.

RELATION TO OTHER GROUPS

The transition services of necessity come into contact with related youth services, especially if they take a broad view of their functions and give special attention to disadvantaged youth. Formalization of these relationships, whether within the school or the community, fosters more effective transition services. Such a planned effort is exemplified by the Swedish modified SYO program as developed in the city of Gothenburg and by the ream approach in British careers education.

The prevailing approach in the transition services has been to direct the services to the young people concerned, individually or in groups. Based on recent research in Britain, Bazalgette maintains that more effective services would be offered to youth and better results would be obtained if the emphasis was shifted to creating personal and organizational relationships among the adults concerned with the transition of youth-parents, teachers, information and guidance personnel, placement officers, employers, trade unions, government officials, and any others who influence or control the lives of young people (50; 52; 543). Also recognizing that services to youth may be insufficient by themselves, the U.S. National Manpower Advisory Commission declared in 1972 that "improved institutional linkages among schools, manpower institutions, and employers are a critical way of reducing wastes which occur when young people prepare for and enter upon work" (886). In 1976 the U.S. Department of Labor, acting on a report from the National Manpower Institute, authorized a Work-Education Consortium project which would establish community organizations of all the relevant parties in an effort to improve the transition (946). Swedish reports also stress the need to involve these groups more actively (790, 244-6; 480, 88).

A variety of public agencies provide a number of discrete services to youth but the essential unity of the individual suggests the desirability of coordination among the different agencies. The involvement of several ministries or departments complicates the efforts to achieve coordination among the official activities in the several areas—education, training, work, sports, leisure-recreation, citizenship-social service, health, rehabilitation, and corrective or supportive services. More broadly, the transition services are still struggling with the concept that the transition from school to work is part of the larger transition to adulthood and therefore must undertake some common approaches and programs (206, 6-8; 850, 3; 105, 132-3).

Formal, organized participation by trade unions, employers, and local government in the planning administrative, and advisory structure of the transition services appears to be a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for an effective and responsive service. Locally, the active participation of employers and trade unions can have a beneficial impact on many aspects of the transition services, beyond providing information about job vacancies. Countries which give a large role to the labor market agency have been more successful than those with education-based programs in drawing these groups into actual participation as opposed to an advisory relationship.

In the transition services, a particular issue is the relation between adults in positions of authority and the young people they are attempting to assist. Young people often are treated as passive agents who are malleable, perfectible, and receptive to the advice of adults in professional posts. It also is assumed that these adults are capable of offering better assistance than other significant figures. Many countries now recognize that young people want to make their own decisions and resent being told what to do, that they are frequently suspicious of adult authority figures, that these figures often have problems in relating to youth, that young people value peer assistance, that minority or disadvantaged youth benefit from the presence of personnel drawn from their own group, and that active participation by young people in these services is important. Direct participation of young people in actual operations or at least in the advisory councils of the services which directly affect them has become a high priority issue. Sweden, for one, has placed student representatives on the advisory bodies concerned with the transition services (624c, 64; 145, para. 29-37; 510, 313; 942, 1).

Whether parents should be represented on policy and advisory bodies depends on the age of the young people and the existence of recognized organizations of parents, a rarity nationwide. Some fears have been expressed that middle class parents may exert undue influence, directing the focus of programs toward additional education, rather than occupations. In any case, a parental advisory role is not a substitute for direct involvement of parents in the transition services for their own children. Despite strong efforts to draw parents individually into the transition services in such countries as Great Britain, an investigation in depth in a deprived area of a Midlands city in 1971-72 revealed a discouraging situation.

> When we interviewed the parents...we found a universal sense of being unconsulted and impotent, even when they wanted to be of assistance to their sons and daughters. Their children talked to them and demanded advice of them, but again and again they did not know how to help nor to whom they could turn for advice. For them the Careers Service was solely about actual placement in a job, not about taking decisions over time: this view was in fact not accurate, but because they never consulted the careers officers, the picture was never corrected... What we found was that immigrant parents-with their lack of familiarity with the services available, the range of possibilities, and social and industrial institutions in general-showed up the pattern most clearly; but it is important to stress that the problem was widely present among indigenous parents, even those of considerable standing in the social system (52, 21-2).

Reports from official agencies about the number of parents attending arranged meetings and other activities may be misleading about the actual situation. Clearly, the first priority as regards parents is to find approaches and mechanisms to increase their understanding of how education prepares for work, to encourage their direct participation in the services which affect their own children, and to give them a sense of confidence in the authorities and themselves.

All efforts to improve organizational structures and relationships will not advance transition programs greatly unless a comprehensive system of transition services is offered and each activity is fully developed. The first of the transiton services, educational and occupational information, is reviewed in chapters 4 and 5.

CHAPTER 4. ORIENTATION AND INFORMATION: NEEDS AND SERVICES

No country is satisfied that its youth know enough about the work world, and young people frequently concur in this judgment, acknowledging that they make important educational and occupational decisions on impulse or by chance. As significant as the gaps in knowledge are the false and overglamorized images implanted by the media and the erroneous or limited ideas conveyed by peers, parents and relatives. While no segment of the youth population is free of these distortions, it is generally agreed that young people from low socioeconomic or disadvantaged background and minority populations have the greatest deficienceis of information and the least opportunity to obtain reliable information through informal sources. To say this does not refute the related finding that these groups also may have the most meager opportunities and the least inclination to seek and use objective, broad, long-range information.

The negative consequences of faulty or incomplete information are repeatedly cited. During the preparatory education-training period excessive enrollments in certain courses, changes of courses, and dropping out reflect poor or insufficient information. Later on, difficulty in making decisions, unemployment, failure to enter the labor force, geographical immobility, employment below capacity, frequent job changing, loss of income, and other adverse experiences are attributed to inadequate information. Anxiety, fear, indifference, uncertainty, poor performance, irresponsibility, and dissatisfaction before and after entering work and additional dimensions. Berating the attitudinal and informational deficiences of youth, employers compound the problem by a reluctance to hire or train young workers and a readiness to dismiss them.

Society also loses if educational and occupational information is unsound. Shortages of labor, overcrowding of declining fields, or costly job changing are some of the ways in which the economy may suffer from a misallocation of labor. In the act on information and guidance passed by the Swedish Riksdag in 1971, lack of information is charged with causing a less rational utilization of the resources of society than would be desirable, although it is conceded that the correction of mistaken ideas also can temporarily upset the labor market as people change jobs in respons to new information about vacancies, renumeration, and potential job satisfaction. However, the longer-run adjustments are said to be worthwhile and advantageous to all. A German research proposal on career decisions observes that the taxpayer ultimately pays the bill for the deficiencies of educational information which cause "interrupted studies, changed study subject, belated change of career and catching up with lacking school-leaving certificates via the alternative educational path" (214a, 15; 214d).

The attribution of so many evils to inadequate information over-looks the claims, often by the identical people, that these same undesirable consequences are produced by inferior education or training or by deficiencies in home, community, and material conditions. Also entitled to consideration as explanatory factors are adverse local or regional employment conditions and the unrewarding character of many entry jobs for youth. Despite the lack of an agreed theory on how information operates and divergence on the significant aspects among economists, sociologists, educationalists, and psychologists, there is a widespread belief that complete, accurate, objective, relevant, and current information about the work world can increase the changes that young people achieve a smooth transition from school to work world can increase the chances that young people will achieve a smooth transition from school to work, make decisions more easily and competently, and have a satisfactory employment history. Moreover, the Swedish information program explicitly aims to minimize differences in the living conditions of various groups in society, collaborating with many other programs operating concurrently toward this end.

So pressing are the information needs of youth that some authorities and many young people believe that firm distinctions should not be drawn between informing youth about their future as workers and their future as adults, consumers, marriage partners, parents, citizens, and taxpayers. The declining share of work in the total lifetime span reinforces the position. Only half in jest, a young American recently asserted that he and his college classmates would have profited from an undergraduate course in "Life: Fundamentals of Reality," covering such subjects as sex, love, work, wealth, leisure, ideology, taxes, insurance, automotive legal problems, subleases, contracts, credit, birth control, veneral disease, zoning, local government, divorce, social behavior, job seeking, and unemployment (476). This view of the scope of information is held both by those who, like Coleman, consider the American schools unqualified and unable to carry out this function, and those who, like Daws, say that the British schools can and must compensate for the diminished competence of parents and other institutions (124; 166). In response to these sentiments several countries have officially established youth centers, libraries, publications, and services which undertake to provide information on the entire range of subjects of concern to young people.

As a practical matter, most countries choose to separate orientation and information about the world of work from information about other adult roles. Without discounting the importance of the latter, this study concentrates on public information services directly related to the work role. Somewhat outside the direct scope of information programs, but nevertheless important, is the production and dissemination of comprehensive lists or bibliographies which present all the sources of information about education and jobs, all the services which assist youth in the transition, and all the special programs for particular groups or difficult situations. One example of such a list is the Inventory of Employment and Employment-Related Programs Serving Youth, Ages 16 to 21 issued in Cleveland, Ohio. Another example is the dissemination through computers of bibliographies of educational and training programs and occupations. Young people about to leave school at any level face one of the major transitions of their lives, even if they face one of the major transitions of their lives, even if they have worked during vacations or partime. They need somewhat different information than adults who no longer are free or willing to consider a wide range of occupational alternatives or life styles. The young need basic, general, and comprehensive information about education and occupations, in contrast to most adult job seekers who require operational, short-run, and specific information about the labor market. Nor is occupational information in its broad form crucial only at the end of initial education. Many young people experience several transitions as they complete additional units of education, perform military service, or temporarily leave the labor market for other reasons. In addition, young workers who fail to benefit from information services while they are in school, who regret earlier educational or occupational decisions, or who wish to reconsider their opinions are candidates for information of a broad character, as are others in later life, notably women reentering the labor market.

In the language of the human capital theorists, the accumulation of occupational information during the education process is part of an investment by young people in themselves which yields private and social return (775; 786; 4; 954; 52-4; 641, 176-8). Just as the cognitive skills learned in school have a value in the marketplace, so information about the world of work should contribute to labor market success. Those who lack information, especially about "the status or income increments associated with various amouts and types of human capital investment...will be severely limited in their ability to make decisions that optimize the returns on whatever investment they decide to make in further education" (161, 128). Such information can be acquired to foregone earnings on a job, one of the chief private costs of education, need not be charged again to the simultaneous acquisition of occupational information during the school years. This situation contrasts with the income foregone by workers who remain unemployed while searching for information about available jobs.

Statements about the value of occupational information and the inadequacy of young people's stock of such information are based neither on firm data nor on clear ideas about how much they should know. Moreover, the disciplines concerned with the subject-economics, psychology, sociology, education-do not agree on what constitutes occupational information or how to test it. A number of questions may be raised about the proper design of tests of knowledge of the work world. How broadly should the subject be defined? Should it include tests of occupational maturity or only information about the work world? in regard to the latter, should the test deal only with the direct economic issues of occupations or should questions be asked also about the work ethic, personal relationships on the job, labor market institutions such as trade unions and the employment service, and education and training opportunities? Should the questions deal only with the levels and types of occupations the test group is likely to enter or should questions cover all the jobs typical of the economy, including occupations which are far above or below the probable level of achievement of the test group? Should the same test be given to a wide cross-section of students with different academic abilities, achievement, and socioeconomic, and cultural backgrounds? Should the test be extensive or intensive in coverage? Should boys and girls answer identical questions? At what ages are tests of this sort meaningful? Finally, should there be a standard expected level of achievement, and how should that standard be set? Or should the results resemble those in an advanced academic subject where a wide range of grads and some failures are accepted as normal?

Formal tests of occupational information among school populations appear to be largely an American activity. In keeping with the American belief in comprehensive education and the drive for upward mobility, the general strategy is to give the same test to an academic and socioeconomic cross-section and ask questions about the entire range of occupations. The formal and informal evaluations of youths' knowledge of the world of work yield rather mixed results on the adequacy of their stock of information. However, the questions asked and the standards applied are so varied that it is difficult to compare appraisals within one country, much less from one country to another. Results rarely are given in ways that permit a calculation of the proportion whose knowledge is considered adequate or satisfactory. In general no consistent differences in results appear between the sexes, but superiority in performance is associated with greater age and work experience, higher educational attainment, academic ability scores, and socioeconomic status, as well as with a socially preferred racial or ethnic background and with urban, but not ghetto or central city, residence (665 paras. 168, 176, 178; 86, ch. 6; 515, 13).

One of the most complete surveys was that of the American College Testing Program (ACTP) which in 1973 administered a world of work information test to a representative national sample of eighth, ninth, and 11th-grade students. Only 31 percent of the 11th grades answered more than three-fourths of the 40 career planning questions correctly. Among the most interesting results were the following: 61 percent of the testees believed that "the earlier one choose his life's work the better;" 36 percent of the boys and 23 percent of the girls thought that "few women work outside of the home after marriage," 53 percent supposed that more than one-third of all job openings required a college degree; and 43 percent thought that youth unemployment rates are lower than those of adults. Assessing knowledge of specific occupational characteristics, the ACTP study found that less than 50 percent of the 11th grades answered more than three-fourths of the 54 items correctly. Results for the 18 questions on occupational preparation were even less satisfactory (670, 21-54; 8; 9).

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in its 1973-74 study of career and occupational development found that 17-year-olds had less specific knowledge of occupations than adults and that out-of-school 17-year-olds performed worse than those in school. Males in all categories had slightly higher scores than females; white performed better than blacks or others; scores were related to parental education for all groups; and those living in the southeast had the lowest mean percentage correct responses. Seventeen-year-olds knew more about the types of occupations featured in the media than about the work of machinists or other technical positions, and the youth were deficient in job-seeking skills (865, Table 5.1). Tyler reached the conclusion that "neither their study in school nor their experience in chores and part-time jobs have given them a realistic and comprehensive understanding of the world of work" (858, 101).

In another national survey, University of Michigan social scientists made a longitudinal study of 2,000 boys in 10th grade in American public high schools, in the course of which an occupational information test was administered consisting of 25 items about income, status, hours of work, and educational requirements in various occupations. Beginning in 1966, four tests were given in successive years to the same boys. Scores improved with each passing year, but widening differentials appeared among the three groups designated by academic progress (35, 1, 64-66, 69-71; II, 48-9, 85-8; III, 125-7).

The National Longitudinal Survey of Ohio State University's Center for Human Resource Research gave males and females 14 to 24 years old limited and fairly simple tests of occupational information in 1966. Through multiple choice questions, the young males were asked to identify the duties and choose the amount of schooling associated with each of 10 occupations, and, for eight pairs of occupations, to select the one which provided the higher average annual earnings; the test results for the boys aged 14 to 17 showed fairly poor performance (644, I, 119-31; III, 59- 65-6; 645, 172-3). An evaluation of this occupational information test by two researchers associated with the project found the test satisfactory in terms of internal consistency, reliability, discrimminatory power, and level of difficulty (469). The female contingent was asked only to identify the duties of 10 occupations, all of which employed some females. Over one-fourth of in-school white girls 15 to 17 years old, made high scores (defined as six to 10 points out of a possible 10), against 9 percent for black girsl. Among girls of the same age not enrolled in school, only 8 percent of white and 7 percent of black girls had high scores (704, II, 52).

A small study in three Ohio junior high schools in 1967-68 indicated that young people who had received no special formal instruction about the world of work increased their mean score on an information test by 6 percent in one semester, apparently as a general consequence of maturation. Four years later the same group showed another large gain, although the pupils still answer fewer than 60 percent of the items correctly on the average, missing several questions deemed significant for career planning (160, 35-57).

Surveys of American college and graduate students yielded somewhat contradictory results. On the one hand, students seemed to be quite well-informed about the conditions in the relevant labor markets, but some contrary evidence came from student views of the adequacy of information, conversations with knowledgeable university administrative officers, and the results of a survey almost two thousand members of the 1972 graduating class of five Pennsylvania institutions of higher education. These sources make one less sanguine that the gaps, ignorance, and confusion identified at the secondary level are absent in American colleges and universities (248, XXV, 194-226; 277, 7, 95-104, 491-3, 495; 279, 144-6, 225-6, 228).

Studies in other countries have usually been concerned with knowledge about the jobs actually chosen rather than with general information. Young Germans about to enter apprenticeship were found to be remarkably well infomred on how much could be earned on completion of training (204b, 2). A national sample of 15-to-16-year-old British boys who were planning to leave school were questionaed on their knowledge about the jobs they had arranged or were likely to enter. Without checking the accuracy of the boys' statements, the study reported that 90 percent of the boys said that they knew how much they would be paid in the prospective job, whether they would have a special status such as apprentice, and whether they would be assigned to further education classes as part of their jobs, but fewer knew about their job duties (843, 220-2).

In another British study, Veness found excellent knowledge of the training needed for the first job planned among fifth-year pupils of all academic streams and types of schools (899, 65-7). But other British studies have arrived at somewhat less favorable judgements about the occupational information of British youth (104, 110-2; 373, 46-50, 55, 75; 698, 182). By comparison with even the least favorable British studies, almost all French pronouncements have sounded dismal. They have bemoaned youth's lack of knowledge of the work world which is compounded by a lack of interest in learning about the subject (699; 269).

A West German inquity uncovered a deficiency in a specific aspect of occupational information. Responding to a question about the need to change occupations over one's working life, a 1970 sample of 15-year-old school-leavers from the least selective school, the Hauptschule, stated overwhelmingly (92.4 percent) that they foresaw little or no change once they had settled on an occupation. Moreover, the chief reason for making a change would be to achieve higher social status, not to respond to the pressures of technological or business changes. These responses of the school-leavers were taken as evidence of ignorance of the "working world which awaits them" (204b, 3).

One area of information about the world of work, rarely tested, concerns knowledge about the social and economic institutions which surround and influence the work role. The answers of 16-year-old British pupils of above average intelligence to the social studies examination for the Certificate of Secondary Education showed a large majority to be uninformed about such subjects as the meaning of the closed shop; jurisdictinal disputes among trade unions, the definition of a monopoly, and the purpose of the Stock Exchange (one of the more imaginative answers was "a betting shop for horses"). Even more disturbing were the answers to the optional questions about the differences in the employment conditions of factory workers, clerical workers, and senior managers. Apart from the fact that some pupils though that clerical workers cleaned offices, other confusions abounded. Pupils who had no difficulty in distinguishing between good and bad working conditions thought that managers and clerical workers were entitled to better conditions because they were middle class (576m; 576n). A British training manager for a large company observed that "a knowledge of telationships at the workplace, or in the community, was lacking in most young people. Their information about trade unions, about industrial relations and similar areas has been slanted to an imponderable degree by the media" (36, Jan. 1976, 12).

These adverse findings may not be significant, however, unless it can also be shown that those with more occupational knowledge, other things being equal, have better outcomes in the relevant areas of life.

WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORK WORLD MAKE?

The assumption that those who have more occupational knowledge will be at an advantage both in the short and long run in making decisions and in the labor market rarely has been tested empirically. Not only are there difficulties in devising suitable tests of knowledge, as indicated in the previous section, but also it is necessary to control carefully for other factors which may explain outcomes as well or better than scores on tests of occupational information. There also are issues about the number of times and the ages at which the tests should be given or the outcomes would be examined. Finally, the definition of the desired outcomes is subject to debate. Are there independent differences according to the abilities and options of individuals? Should decisionmaking ability as such be separated from making "good" choices? And what standards should be applied to the latter? Is the world to be accepted exactly as it is and all nonconformity rated low? How are youth's own values, which may not place earnings in first place, to be reconciled with the economic's criteria? How are the constraints of the labor market to be related to assumptions about individual control over outcomes? Questions are more plentiful than answers, but information tests continue to flourish (2; 933; 168; 557).

Using a narrow and brief test of information, the reports of the National Longitudinal Surveys of young men, controlling for other factors, found a relationship between information scores and educational aspirations a year later, with diverse reactions from white and black youth. Among the former, those who scored low on information were "more likely than those whose scores were medium or high to have revised their educational aspirations downward" (644, II, 69). Along other lines, Biggers concluded from a small cross-sectional study of fourth to 12th-graders that "increased age and school experience do not appear to improve materially the student's use of occupational information in decision-making. The ability to use information when deciding between two or more occupations might well be different from the ability to recite information about the occupation separately" (66, 176).

Of the available studies relating occupational information to labor market outcomes, only one was clearly positive, and its findings were weakened by its own follow-up studies. Using 1966 scores on the information test and 1968 average hourly earnings and occupational levels, researchers of the National Longitudinal Surveys conducted a multivariate analysis of young males no longer in school. Controlled for other relevant variables, the results supported the hypothesis for both blacks and whites "that the extent of a youth's knowledge about the world of work has an independent effect upon how wage and his occupational assignment" (646, 18, 20; 641, 174-6). A similar study for females, however, found that "only for black women is the knowledge of work score even marginally significant in predicting hourly earnings" and that "an awareness of the world of work appears to have no effect on the occupational status of young women" (561, 17-20). In a further analysis, a statistically significant relationship between the 1966 information test score and 1971 earnings was found only for white females, and it was attributed to the joint influence of general cognitive ability and the extent of labor market information. Knowledge of the world of work was found more closely linked to occupational status than to earnings, especially for white males (645, 70, 72).

While the various analyses of the National Longitudinal Surveys data yield somewhat mixed conclusions, Darcy's inquiry into the relationship between information scores and labor market outcomes eight months after high school graduation produced negative findings (160, 106-9). Parnes, head of the N.L.S. at Ohio State University, discounts Darcy's results because of the excessive homogeneity of Darcy's results because of the excessive homogeneity of Darcy's sample, the irrelevance to occupational knowledge of eight (out of 17) items on the test, and the brief period the sample had spent in the labor market (641, 181-2).

The N.L.S. reports also suggested an inverse relationship between information scores and the frequency and duration of unemployment among some segments of youth, although conceding that the study did not sufficiently allow for the strong association between information scores and IQ scores (644, III, 59-60, 65-6; 704, II, 55-8). Another research group, however, showed that students with higher scores on the Crites Career Maturity Inventory had higher unemployment rates and lower hourly wages than students with lower scores (161, 133).

Despite the paucity of studies, especially outside of the United States, the inconclusiveness and even contradictory nature of their results, and the even greater ignorance about the effects of deliberate efforts to instill information, examined in chapter 5, most developed countries have launched public programs, of varying efficacy, to impart occupational information to young people. Like the other intermediary services, educational-occupational information has been championed as a democratic right whether or not it is used ot does good.

NATURE OF OFFICIAL PROGRAMS

Unlike the other transition services, the official information services may have a multipurpose character, serving not only young people, their parents, and the intermediaries who provide services to young people, but also many others who have diverse functions in planning and administering education, training, employment, and other programs. Some types of information may be more relevant and useful to educators, employers, the employment service, and other public private groups than to young people. Even when information is developed specifically for young people. Even when information is developed specifically for young people in educational institutions it does not constitute a completely separate domain. Certain aspects of information may seem indistinguishable from education per se in subject matter, place, and style of presentation. Another part of information comprises an extension of the formal and informal socialization process which occurs in schools. Some occupational information may be imparted during direct occupational preparation or skill training; yet teaching young people to do work is distinct from teaching about work, and the person who is best qualified to teach the one is not necessarily best qualified to teach the other.

Above all, information overlaps with guidance and guidance is rooted in information. Conceptually, the two may be separated, as they are in these chapters. But operationally, it is desirable that the two subjects should be integrated, as they are in Sweden's SYO program, British Careers Education, and American Career Education and guidance programs. Clearly, the most effective orientation and information activities are those which also have a guidance function, helping young people to increase self-awareness and decisionmaking skills. Information usually is not an end in itself. Indeed, some authorities assert that it is counterproductive to provide information without a "translation potential" which enables the individual to relate personal characteristics to occupational alternatives (590).

Still there is room for an independent information function and a distinction between information and guidance in their timing, subject matter, methods, and personnel. Specifically, some information can be initiated before direct guidance begins, can be dispensed to very large audiences, and can be entrusted to specialists who are not necessarily trained or competent to offer individual or group counseling. Information services have a great potential for economizing resources. Moreover, some experts believe that an extensive and effective information and orientation program with guidance elements can serve the majority of young people, leaving only a small number of difficult cases for personal counseling by specialists (382, 8-10). Support for this position comes from a national survey of American high school students in 1973. Asked to choose one out of five types of assistance which would be most useful in making occupational choices or decisions, 48 percent selected "factual information"; 23 percent designated "point out the consequences of my choices"; 12 and 11 percent, respectively, picked "suggest new alternatives" and"just listen to me"; and 5 percent chose "tell me what to do" (673, 7a).

The case for governmental provision of information to young people rests not only on the general arguments for intermediary services, but also on the specific grounds that only government has the resources and competence to amass and distribute the necessary data and that the spread of misleading or inaccurate information by other channels necessitates a corrective influence (149; 170; 171). The degree of responsibility for information assumed by the public authorities, especially the schools, varies considerably from country to country; and the amount and kind of unofficial activity which is encouraged or tolerated also differs. Implicit in all official information programs is the assumption that usable and relevant information can be produced easily and relatively inexpensively; that young people will be receptive to that provided by other, competing sources; and that induced information will make a discernible difference in decisionmaking and in occupational outcomes.

The approach to be taken in orientation and information programs is debated, and many of the issues are pertinent for guidance and placement activities as well. One of the most common aims is to give young people and their parents a realistic, complete and accurate view of the current and future job world and its requirements. To some this implies more than a straightforward factual account, neutrally reporting on all types of jobs. A realistic view might include negative information, criticism of the existing economic order, adverse reports about certain types of jobs or firms, or warnings about the barriers to high level achievement in education or employment. On the other hand, realism might consist of positive support for the work ethic in general for manual labor, or for any activity which suffers from a negative stereotype. So long as the individual's freedom of choice is not impaired, realism need not exclude value judgments.

Opening a national Careers Exhibition in Dublin, in 1970, an Irish Minister of Labor declared that enterprises which employ young people in jobs without prospects of advancement or even of permanence were not worth encouragement. The Swedish information-guidance program specifically tries to imbute pupils with a critical attitude toward the facts selected for presentation and the underlying values which have shaped the educational system and the labor market, urging discussion of reforms of these institutions(805). Most countries, however, present information about the most unrewarding jobs without any suggestion that they are less desirable than others, and may even propagandize for occupations or jobs which are particularly short of labor or are highly valued for economic growth. French employers have criticized public vocational education recruiters for exaggerating the level of jobs which follow courses, thus producing disillusionment among the students (624b). American information developers report that proprietary vocational schools object to dissemination of information about an oversupply in certain occupations because enrollment in their schools might be discouraged (765, 234; 161, 137-9).

Another issue is whether information should be given only in formal, official terms or whether room should be made for the inside, behind-the-scenes approach. An example of the former is trite advice, such as. "Be polite at your job interview," while the latter type of information might hint that pupils should dissemble a bit, saying only what the interviewer would like to hear. Inevitably, official information sources will transmit "official" data, neglecting some of the shortcuts, ploys, or deceptions actually used by successful applicants (578e). To achieve credibility, the dispenser of information should candidly acknowledge the existence of alternative methods and moral standards. A more delicate question for the official sources is the attitude to be taken toward the pursuit of illegal income, which American inner-city youth are aware of as profitable alternative to regular work, or toward the various combinations of occasional work, travel, and leisure which youth in many countries have worked out as temporary or longer-run life patterns. Still another question for the official service is how to deal with sources of information, such as the media, which are considered misleading or dishonest. One approach is to concentrate on a straightforward presentation of the "facts," ignoring the other influences. Another is to rival the opposition by using the same techniques, media, and style; usually this is too costly, even if it is approved. Finally, a detailed criticism of the opposition or a side-by-side presentation which points out the inaccurcies is a possible but little used method.

In another area, the informal approach would descrive unusual or unorthodox methods of qualifying for and attaining jobs, such as rarely appear in official educational-occupational information. Comprehensive guides or occupational dictionaries can create the impression that access to each occupation is strictly controlled by completion of a certain level and type of education or training. In fact, the incumbents in some skilled occupations display such a variety of educational and training backgrounds that it can be misleading to stipulate fixed educational routes. Recent analysis of actual careers reveals how difficult it is to translate job requirements into educational qualifications, how much substitutability of labor is possible, and how little utilization of specific education may occur on the job (254; 505; 541; 542; 442; 108; 109; 379; 380; 295h).

Moreover, if the official information relies primarily on prevailing employer practice which often exaggerates the educational requirements for jobs, official sanction will be conferred on employer practices which should be discouraged. Employers need feedback on this issue along with detailed information about the content of educational courses and the nature and meaning of examinations and credentials. Finally, consideration should be given to the position taken by the Swedish information-guidance program (SYO). Since the choices of individuals are limited by societal values, the socioeconomic background of the individual, and personal factors, the function of the official program must be to increase the individual's freedom of choice, in part by suggesting and presenting information which has not been directly requested. If this is not done, the official program will not offer the desired counterweight to the environment, the media, peer influence, and other limiting forces.

COMPONENTS OF INFORMATION PROGRAMS

Although the academic experts may disagree about the content of occupational information, national programs are not so far apart. Orientation and information acitivities, as they are carried on by the countries which take their transition services seriously, encompass a wide variety of subjects. Without implying priorities or sequential order, a composite list would include:

work ethics and values
social and personal competences
occupational implications of educational choices
job characteristics and requirements
occupational outlook
psychosocial aspects of the work role
social and economic institutions

Few countries have, in fact, conceptualized the tasks of the information program as broadly as in the list above, although several try to conduct activities addressed to each subdivision. Sweden's SYO program and German Arveitslehre proposals come very close to such a presentation (805, 6, 11; 176; 214a, 4-6). In every country, the elements of the program vary in accordance with the educational level, age aspirations, and circumstances of the young people. A recent review of the deficiencies of British materials indicates activity in most of these fields (920a).

WORK ETHIC

Turning to the seven components identified above, one finds that some countries regard "the work ethic and work values" as part of the moral education or socialization function of the schools and not as a separate aspect of the orientation and information activity. However, American advocates of career education have emphasized the need for an explicit information activity which, exploring the personal and societal consequences of accepting more than one work ethic, seeks to instill in youth a belief in the moral and material values of hard work and good performance and to counter youth's diminished interest in manual or menial jobs (369, 32-4; 404, 69; 400, 125-7). It has been said that the educational system tolerates or even actively fosters a "crisis of competence" which undermines the Protestant work ethic and denigrates manual work (61, 65).

Other question the old standards and wonder whether only the young people are at fault. They propose that the society, schools, and employers should alter their views and practices to adjust to the new values and expectations of youth (214e, 2-3). An American survey of recent college graduates identifies "an emerging work ethic" which demands "that work can and should be of greater value to the society" (885, 5). In an address to Britain's Institute of Career Officers, a recent president called for recognition that youth was searching for authenticity in feeling and behavior and urged careers officers who gave information to reexamine their "sometimes inflexible approach to the values and attitudes of school-leavers" (97, winner 71/72, 21). A British management consultant firm, investigating companies which complain of labor shortages, has reported to the Department of Employment that some personnel officers and foremen hold an "unreasonable attitude toward younger workers" and fail "to use the people that exist" because they expect "the social pendulum to swing back" (295i).

The Swedish National Labor Market Board, taking a positive position on this issue, declares that the difficulties experienced by industry in recruiting young workers must be tackled in the long run through adjustments of the working environment to the new level of expectations which technology makes realizable (818, 1973-4, 24). As this brief exploration suggests, the issue is not merely whether a particular work ethic should be a part of a comprehensive information program, but how far the official position should accommodate the changing views of youth.

SOCIAL AND PERSONAL COMPETENCES

A second aim of orientation and information is to instruct young people about the personal and social behavior required to seek, obtain, and hold jobs (164, 5; 321, 122; 522). A Canadian educator reports that many graduates of community colleges in Ontario at age 19 or 20 "simply do not know, and must be taught, how to complete an application form or how to conduct themselves in an interview" (597, 11). British school-leavers who qualify academically for office or sales jobs may be denied them because of such factors as unfamiliarity with the use of a telephone, lack of the social graces, or unintelligible regional or class speech (26). In a list of the 10 most important reasons for a poor transition from school to work by disadvantaged young people cited by American Youth Opportunity Center counselors, seven factors involve social and personal competences (189, 30-1). A nationwide survey of American 11th-grade high school pupils in 1973 found that 55 percent had never taken part in an actual or practice job interview (670, 17).

In regard to instruction in the different methods of searching for jobs, some countries provide an impartial guide to all of the channels. An example is CRAC's "Bulls Eye" Series in Britain, especially the illustrated work book for 14-to 16 year olds called "Finding a Job," which has such chapter headings as looking for an opening, replying to advertisements, filling in forms, entracne tests, and going for interviews. Courses are now offered in many American colleges in job search techniques along with other elements of career development (578f). But Sweden, finding a trend toward a declining use of the public employment service on the part of youth, in 1975 introduced guided visits to the local employment service as part of the SYO career information activity in the ninth grade. In this approach, all methods of seeking jobs are not treated equally and the public channels get most attention (832).

Beyond information of this sort transition programs, implicitly accepting employer standards, may seek to influence pupils' behavior, habits, appearance, social manners, and speech patterns. However, the efficacy of instruction about employers' expectations as regards appearance, punctuality, attendance and responsibility is likely to be limited if the school's own performance on these matters is weak. How, one wonders, can the large urban American high school, where attendance is low, order is minimal, and crime is rife, be expected to prepare young people for a stricter work world?

If often is assumed that simple ignorance is the trouble and that properly delivered information can clear up matters. But some young people are unwilling or unable to master the skills which can ease their entrance to work. Their attitudes, deportment, or the "unkept hair and beards and unusual forms of dress" of community college graduates, described ay a Canadian educator as "a liability in their securing attractive placements" (597, 11), represent more than ignorance of employers' desires. They are a statement, symptomatic of more profound feelings, which should be taken seriously by the schools and employers. As has been mentioned in connection with the work ethic, this effort should perhaps be less one-sided. Those who interview and hire young people also should receive information about the attitudes of the young on such issues as appearance, work relationships, and unwillingness to work overtime, weekends, or nights.

EDUCATIONAL-OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES

A third component, information about the occupational implications of educational choices, is not identical with the separate provision of educational and occupational information or information about the educational requirements for jobs. Most American computer information systems separate the two kinds of information with the disadvantage that a competition develops between them for development funds. More serious has been the American neglect of information on the occupational significance of different educational paths. Although it is an integral part of the aims of American career education that all school subjects should be related to further educational and occupatinal possibilities, the curricula of thousands of schools have not yet incorporated this principle (765; 766; 534). A survey of representative California schools reveal that many young people aspire to occupations which require different types and levels of educational preparation than they are currently undertaking (181, 2). Whether such maladjustments are solely a matter of inadequate information is, however, questionable. Another survey finds that students in twelve New York high schools select their courses with little regard for the relation between the curriculum and occupational requirements (726, 7).

A demonstration activity of the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE) is called Educational Information for Student Choice and several of the 27 projects, funded federally at $1.3 million in 1976, are developing information which is essentially concerned with the occupational consequences of educational choices (766 (766). The American lag in this field compared with other countries is attributable to the more open character of the American educational system, the later age for educational specialization, and the relative lack of articulation between specific educational courses and job requirements, such as is commonly found elsewhere. Although the educational situation in Great Britain has been changing, this 1965 comparison is still valid:

> Crucial decisions affecting the whole of a person's working life are, therefore, made for the majority of young Britons, between the age of thirteen and sixteen when their American contemporaries are still

> enjoying a glorious cafeteria of educational courses, few of which bear any direct relationship to the ultimate choice of occupation (33, 98).

Many European countries offer centralized and comprehensive educational guides which detail the next levels of education available, as well as the training and work possibilities open to those who leave education at the particular stopping points recognized in each country. In the printed materials of its national information office (ONISEP), France has developed this type of information to a high degree. The West German federal government also has been pressed to act because the disparate educational systems of the individual states must be coordinated and the limited admissions policy (numerus clausus) to higher education creates new needs for information. In addition to the federal output, individual states also offer educational information and counsel ing services. Students in German higher education now received added attention, following on a recommendation by the Permanent Conference of Federal-States' Education Ministers that central advisory centers should be established on a regional basis to augment and assist the individual centers at universities (214f, 282-5; 214e, 9-10; 214d, 7, 14). However, much remains to be done in this area. Sweden's SYO program also has a strong emphasis on the occupational implications of educational choices (805, 11).

The British survey of secondary schools in 1971-72 indicates that 82 percent of schools claim to have discussed the career implications of curricular choices in the third year with both pupils and parents, and 86 percent maintain that in the fifth year (age 16) they involve pupils and parents in discussions of the educational-occupational choices open at that time (288, 11-12). Nonetheless, other experts feel that information continues to elude many pupils until after they have left school and regretfully look back on missed opportunities (104, 70-1; 924, 8; 373).

A greatly increased demand for information has been generated by the postwar educational explosion, the arrival of mass upper secondary education (much of it terminal), the creation of a sizeable-publicly-financed tertiary level with restricted entrance in some fields, frequent alterations in the structure of education, and changing labor market. Also many families lack prior experience with prolonged education and are unaware of the selection of occupations which can be entered. Together these circumstances create a new demand, not only for educational-occupational information, but also for information about the financial costs and aid available, later opportunities to return to school, and alternate educational paths. So complex are the choices in regard to higher education, even in a centralized system such as Great Britain's, that a curriculum course has been proposed which would teach upper secondary students about the educational alternatives and guide them through the plethora of information already in print (29, 21). Although deficiencies persist, the official provision of educational-occupational information in European higher education is more highly developed than in the United States. A study of 1972 graduates of American colleges reports:

> College personnel seem to assume that someone somewhere has in fact provided the student with the information needed to make reasonable career-related decisions....It also appears that many faculty members of both secondary schools and colleges believe that matters of career choice, career information and career training are neither the legitimate nor the appropriate responsibility of our educational institutions (885, 28).

In several European countries some young people, selecting upper secondary or tertiary courses, which in fact lead to specific occupations, make their choices carelessly or for irrelevant reasons, such as ease of entry into a particular course. The result may be discontent, dropping-out, prolonged education through course changing, and delays in seeking work. Educational-occupational information, no matter how good, is no substitute for a flexible educational system. Nor is an orientation year which sorts young people into educational tracks a substitute for comprehensive education. Educational informatinn should not be confused with educational reform. However, in restrictive educational systems, a full informational program is all the more important. Young people in all types of educational systems also can benefit from full information about later opportunities for recurrent or lifetime education, including the occupational implications of such choices.

JOB CHARACTERISTICS AND REQUIREMENTS

The heart of occupatinnal information often is seen as documentation about the characteristics and requirements of jobs. Comprehensive information includes the following: job duties, the economic returns at given skill levels (starting pay, increases, peak and lifetime earnings), overtime possibilities, fringe benefits, pensions, hours, vacations, working conditions, safety, opportunities for training and promotion, hiring channels, related jobs, special tools or equipment, and costs to worker (tools, union membership). In countries like Japan, Great Britain, Germany, and Switzerland, where employers regularly recruit young people directly from school, the specification of the training and further education opportunities associated with various jobs is a critical part of the job description. In this connection, it has been reported that some British employers have resorted to offers of training as a lure to young people, although the employers do not believe the job requires such training an they may in fact not provide what they have earlier promised (576o). In addition, some youth seek guides to temporary, voluntary, or offbeat activities and occupations, useful to those taking time off from education or rejecting conventional employment. These directories have appeared in several countries under official and unofficial auspices.

Informatinn about the conventional or preferred requirements for entrance to various jobs specifies basic educational preparation, previous experience or training, licensing, legal restrictions, hiring practices, and preparation for promotion, especially within the firm.

Another relevant kind of information about the requirements of jobs may be obtained from an analysis of the traits of present workers or identification of the aptitudes, interests, abilities, physical qualities, and health which may be helpful in specific jobs. Such information is directed particularly toward making young people evaluate themselves while they are absorbing the more impersonal occupational information. A policy decision must be made by the information producers. Should they accept uncritically the current education, training, experience, and other characteristics stipulated by employers or should they list the actual qualities demanded by jobs, as determined by impartial analysts?

A central issue in information on job characteristics and requirements is the classification system. The dictionary approach, on outgrowth of reliance on the basic work of statisticians and labor market analysts, is not well-suited to information dissemination and is being superseded in most countries by other approaches, more in keeping with the needs of young people and their counselors. However, some of the alternative ways of classifying occupations, which develop out of the needs of training and placement officials, are not always consonant with youth's information requirements.

A widely used American source, the Occupatinnal Outlook Handbook, starting with the 1974-75 edition groups jobs into 13 occupational clusters, renouncing its prior adherence to the census occupational classification system. France's ONISEP plans to classify its fact sheets on individual occupations issued to teachers and counselors by a system which permits multiple listings of each occupation. Some examples of proposed categories are: (1) out-of-doors or sedentary, (2) rapid promotion possibilities, but very risky, (3) may experience rapid technological change, (4) permits independent activity. Canada's newly-developed classification of about 7,000 occupations, oriented toward information needs, is being incorporated into a computerized system called CHOICES. Britain's occupational information for youth having developed separately from other occupational information and in conjunction with a guidance service, is probably farthest along in the day-to-day use of occupational classifications by level and type. It is not surprising that Rodger, one of the British pioneers in this field, should have been disappointed by Swedish adherence to the occupational dictionary approach (608, 8).

The need for further classifications along other lines, stressing occupational level, is suggested by reports that rejected male applicants to U.S. medical schools turn to law and business schools as their next alternatives, not to training for other health occupations. Likewise, French university students who enter the medical course but fail after the first year turn to law and business economics.

Psychologists and sociologists have devised many occupational typologies based on factors which may be omitted or neglected in the official information sources whose orientation is toward labor market analysis (707; 121; 383; 535). The lack of communication among the various academic disciplines contributes to less satisfactory models than are possible given the present state of the art (545; 839; 224;

780; 365; 109). In the same way, greater conformity among countries is possible and desirable in both classification systems and information models.

OCCUPATIONAL OUTLOOK

In countries where the main output of occupational information for youth is produced by a statistical division of a government department which is concerned with labor and employment and where such data have been developed with many other users in mind apart from youth, considerable weight is placed on giving concrete national estimates of the annual number of openings and the future prospects in individual occupations. However, it can be argued that, whatever specific need there may be in various quarters for hard estimates of current job vacancies and future occupational trends, most young people do not require such detail, especially on a national basis. This is fortunate given the poor track record of the forecasting profession and the recognized obstacles to making notable improvements (3; 456; 505; 246). Further, since no information is available for individual occupations about the other part of the equation-the number of young people who will select a given occupation, transfers within the existing work force in the occupation, and the possibilities of substitution from other occupations- precise estimates of openings offer only part of the necessary information and might be misleading about the competition to be encountered.

There are additional reasons to oppose the practice of listing each occupation with a precise number of expected job openings, or worse, with the percentage change expected, often without giving the vase figure. Some experts point out that there is actually less occupational change over time than forecasters predict, that substitutability is wider than occupational definitions suggest, and that job ladders in internal labor markets modify and invalidate the occupation-by-occupation approach. In the draft bill for Sweden's SYO program, a particular point was made that the unreliability of employment forecasts and other categorical statements about labor market developments should be conveyed to young people. Along different lines, an emphasis on job forecasts is opposed by those who prefer that young people should make their occupational choices unaffected by information which seems to direct them according to labor market needs. Official vocational guidance services in many countries devate this issue, and som pay little attention to employment forecasts. This issue is discussed further in chapter 6.

If precise national forecasts are not necessary, it does not follow that future trends should be ignored or that young people should not be referred to all of the sources, if they are interested. In contrast to the official information sources, a recent issue of Le Point, a French news magazine, used official data and offered young people a similar occupations list, but refreshingly designated expanding occupations wi with a drawing of a smiling face, declining ones with a downcast face, and the rest with a drawing of a neutral expression. Regional profiles supplemented the national picture. Both the form of the information and its location in a general news magazine seem superior to the official version of the same data.

One of the important functions of an information service is to issue sharp warnings about impending surpluses of applicants or declines in certain occupations so that education, training, and job plans can be shaped accordingly. In 1974 the British Department of Employment issued a pamphlet, Higher Education and Jobs, based on a technical study; it includes suggestions about nontraditional jobs for those university graduates who could not find the graduate's expectated occupations. In 1968-69, the Swedish Labor Market Board and the Board of Education resorted to a joint information campaign in the newspapers when it seemed that young people were choosing majors in upper secondary and higher education, which would lead them to overcrowded occupations, and were ignoring occupations with shortages.

Even with adverse information, many young people operate on a lottery principle, hoping that they will be the fortunate ones to gain a foothold. A case in point in some countries is the slow change of goals among intending teachers, in spite of clear messages about shrinking opportunities for new graduates. In countries where the public authorities have not acted promptly to contract teacher training facilities or had no means to do so, as in the United States, students have not heeded the warnings soon enough A certain justification can be found for ignoring official admonitions about a pending lack of jobs because these warnings sometimes are excessive or are so effective that declining industries or occupations have been unable to attract even the number of young people required for the replacement of retiring workers. However, the time perspective of the information-givers is longer than that of the employers, and advice to avoid certain occupations may be sound even if some jobs remain unfilled in the short run. It also is useful to publicize occupations in which a sharp increase of jobs is anticipated, again without attaching exact numbers to each occupation.

A somewhat different case can be made for developing and disseminating local occupational information and projections, since young people generally which to remain in their home communities. American critics fault career education and information efforts which are not solidly based on high quality local labor market information. Stern of the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Education told an American national forum on career education about a "preposterous situation where career education exists in most places without career information (but rather misinformation))." He goes on to say that even when accurate national labor market information is disseminated it is often two years out-of-date and is deceptive about local conditions, leaving youth and their advisers to rely on subjective local information derived from personal experience or company advertising. He concludes that "career education without localized, up-to-date, and accurate career information, then, would appear to be a dubious activity at best" (766, 2.5-6).

In other countries where the transition services are more highly developed than they are in the United States, the sense of local conditions and changes is keener, and there is less clamor for national forecasts to serve at the basis for local data. The experienced guidance and placement officers in Great Britain, Germany, Sweden, and Japan, for example, tend to know the local youth labor market quite well from daily experience. However,some young people must find their first jobs outside of their home communities because the work they seek is not available locally. Excessive concentration on local labor markets therefore may not serve the needs of all of the younger new entrants, and it is clearly insufficient for those leaving higher education whose labor market often is national in scope.

PSYCHOSOCIAL ASPECTS

Critics of occupational information find an excessive concern with economic factors in jobs to the neglect of the psychosocial aspects (361; 359; 731; 654,22). The latter encompass a large number of items-the potential for work adjustment and satisfaction, the ability to cope with large-scale organizations, the capacity to express values and attitudes, the social prestige of different occupations, the nature of occupational status and roles, realistic work expectations, interactions with others, trade unions, understanding operatinns of authority and decisionmaking, acceptance of supervision, the lifestyle in and out of work, and the effects of the job on family life, leisure, the consumer role, geographic mobility, the social situation at work, and a person's sense of identity (325; 319, 112-4; 478; 543, 175). Despite the obvious importance of these aspects, it may be difficult to impart information of this kind because young people come to appreciate the significance of the psychosocial factors only after they have begun to work; thus, information-giving agencies face the general problem of passing on to youth the experience of an older generation.

The nature of the workplace is another subject. Information which is couched in terms of occupations may slight the relative advantages and disadvantages of firms of various sizes and types. Since young people in many countries prefer jobs in small firms, especially those located close to home, the adverse features of family-owned businesses and small firms should be explicitly detailed in information material, in terms of the physical environment, health and safety, management practices, training and promotion opportunities, operations of an internal labor market,and other relevant factors. This is a neglected subject, not least because such information about the work environment runs the risk of offending employers. Even more neglected is the specific preparation of young people, still in the educational process, for the possibility that they will be unemployed either on entering the full-time labor market or in their early work years. Omission of this subject has led to later angry or pained opinions by unemployed new entrants about the inadequacy of the information programs in schools. The latter should not assume that full employment and an excess of vacancies are perpetually present.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

The area of information here called social and economic institutions refers to such subjects as labor laws, trade union organization and operations, labor relations, contracts, methods of wage payment, wage deductions, income tax systems, money management, social insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents and old age, accident prevention, welfare and social services, labor market agencies, and local government. Classroom activities, visits from outside experts, and study trips to local institutions are the methods used in this field. The German Arbeitslehre or prevocational education includes many of these subjects, utilizing varied formats in the 11 separate state educational systems (862a, 4-7).

Views toward information on trade unions vary (332, 24-5; 104, 266-76). One American counselor wants information "on the REAL situation on jobs involving strong unions," implying that unions constitute barriers to youth employment (91, 8). Other sources present American unions as receptive to youth (450; 160; 182). Many countries consider that an impartial presentation of information about trade unions is all that is required. But the British Trades Union Congress urges that the official information and guidance service should give young workers a positive view of the desirability of trade union membership and should cooperate with trade union organizations to encourage recruitment into appropriate unions (852). Under the Careers Education project of the Schools Council, the T.U.C. has prepared and distributed a kit for use in the schools which fully present the trade union viewpoint. The Swedish position is that the information service should encourage debate concerning trade union and political organizations, the ability of the individual to influence them, and problems of educational and labor market policy (805,6). Germany has discussions of codetermination, a statutory provision for trade union participation in management, and, in some areas, radical critiques of society and the production system (214a, 4-7).

DIFFERENTIATION OF SERVICES

One of the most pressing issues for the information services, as for the other transition services, is how much and what kind of differentiation of services should be offered on the basis of observed differences in the characteristics and needs of young people. Among the recognized distinctions are those of age; educational level; academic ability and goals; socioeconomic status; racial, ethnic, or national origins; physical and mental handicaps; sex; and place of residence. Youth leaving military service, prisons, or other institutional settings may also benefit from differentiated services. Although a wide need for world of work information is discerned among all young people, most countries now identify special groups as targets for differentiated services and a more intense effort on the part of the official programs. In addition, it has become clear that the transition services for disadvantaged groups often must be supplemented and reinforced by social interventions (289).

Problems arise in meeting this commitment. Although some American studies indicate that minority groups are more receptive than white pupils to the information efforts of teachers and counselors, these official sources usually are not ranked as first choice (161, 129; 841, 35). British careers officers complain that to give information to young school-leavers often is as difficult as selling goods over the counter. Due to disinterest in the subject of work and lack of receptivity to information and advice already offered, "no amount of additional careers work would make any substantial impact (701, 83). Observing that there is too much information from all sources, Daws cautions against viewing pupils as "insatiable sponges." He writes that "feeding information to passive and sometimes reluctant learners is a wasteful process compared with the learning that takes place when pupils are motivated to find out for themselves" (164, 6). No one doubts the desirability of stimulating pupils to seek out information, but it is most difficult to motivate those who most need information from official sources as compensation for what is lacking home and in other contacts. Often they reject school and all that is associated with it, including the attempt of the school to ease the transition to work. The same difficulty occurs with efforts to inform some parents or draw them into school activities. If their own early experience with school was adverse or if they take little responsibility for their children's future, they will not respond to calls from the school, although they may have a greater need for information than the more active and cooperative parents (104, 88-101; 333, 68-9; 97, winter 1972-73, 22-5).

An initial decision must be made about the age when orientation and information programs on the world of work should begin. There is disagreement on this matter. In Europe there has been a general acceptance that such instruction should begin earlier than the final year of compulsory education, that is before age 14 or 15; but most authorities would be satisfied if programs were pushed back to the 12-to 13-year-old group, especially since studies of the occupational perceptions of younger children suggest that they are not ready to respond realistically to occupational differences (373; 361, ch. 6; 187). A very different position is taken by the American Career Education movement which urges that programs should begin in kindergarten at age 5 and continue regularly thereafter with adjustment of content to the age level (404; 869; 19; 533, 12-4, 51, 88, 124-521; 274; 161, 166). The distance between the two views is indicated in the statement by a minority of British careers officers that, since occupational information had not sunk in when it had been offered, "all that could be done effectively was to give young people some sensible advice immediately before they left school (701, 8).

Related to differentiation of occupational information by age is the distinction made according to educational level and academic ability and goals. In orientation-information programs, those who are expected to complete compulsory lower secondary school and seek jobs immediately are treated differently from others in most European countries, Australia, and Japan. Strongly differentiated schools or streams, as in Germany and residually in Great Britain, lead to distinctions in information activities, both in content and form. While these countries may provide more and sometimes better services for young school-leavers, and especially for those who are below average academically, than for other young people, information services tend to concentrate on a limited range of jobs and often neglect information on the next level of education or future possibilities of returning to education. Critics in these countries point out, however, that many careers officials in fact are biased towards the skilled worker occupations and, by an emphasis on jobs some pupils know they will not obtain, may alienate them from all occupational information as irrelevant to their situation.

Differences in educational ability, as attested by school grades and placement, have traditionally been accepted in Europe as a key to the type of educational-occupational information required. In 1965 Avent, an experienced British authority, described to an American audience how occupational information about the construction industry might be dispensed according to educational tracks:

> Those taking the most theoretical course will study architecture, surveying, civil engineering, and building management; the middle tracks may investigate careers in drafting, cost accounting and estimating, or work with builders, merchants and suppliers; the least able boys will probably spend each week's talk considering the work of a craftsman, such as the bricklayer, plumber, electrician, and so on. Critics may say that this perpetuates English occupational class distinctions but it has the of being realistic and economical and enables the students to get detailed information on occupations within their reach (33,99).

As comprehensive education has spread in Britain, the pressure has mounted to offer broad occupational information without grouping pupils according to ability or interests (1920 37-8; 924, 41; 200, 17; 503). But in 1974, Avent still argued for separate treatment:

> If totally unstreamed classes of pupils are tackling topics related to careers education, it sometimes happens that the less able are only discouraged by the realisation that the present employment situation in a technological society means that their future is far less attractive than that of the more academically able. There is also the possibility that if the teacher is highly successful in enthusing the whole class with the concept of the dignity and worth of all contributions to the economy, then the most able may be insufficiently motivated to academic achievement and be content to enter employment at a level below their abilities (32, 7).

Any separation of pupils according to academic ability is challenged by champions of equality of educational and economic opportunity. Questioning the accuracy and relevance of ability classifications for occupational destinations and believing that recorded academic capacity reflects socioeconomic background and accumulated deprivation as much or more than innate ability differences, these authorities desire that transition programs should avoid ability groupings and keep educational and occupational options open as long as possible. As a consequence, occupational information programs either settle for a fairly low common denominator or aim quite high, in an effort to avoid categorization and separation of pupils. Both solutions are unsatisfactory, but no alternative has been devised.

Some authorities urge equal amounts of service to all ability groups, while others stress the need to give special aid to the lowest ability groups. American practice stress educational information at the price of occupational and caters chiefly to the college-bound, middle class student, although it is charged that gifted young people are not properly served either (200; 841). Critics urge reversal in both emphases, giving greatest attention to those who leave high school for work. But the content of the information is in question, and some ask: Should graduating seniors and potential high school dropouts be informed in detail about the labor market they will enter or should they only be encouraged to remain in education? Because plans change so easily among these youth, some urge that information on all options must be given without regard to stated plans.

An added reason to concentrate information services on the less able is the evidence that those who are above average in academic ability voluntarily engage in information activities, such as reading careers literature or consulting careers libraries, and that they also have more access to influential people outisde of school (576p). West Germany has concluded that pupils who leave school at 15 do not absorb much from printed matter or large lectures and that parental participation is required (214g, h). The British Trades Union Congress also questions heavy reliance on printed matter. Others see a need for a follow-up of collective information by individual or small-group information and counseling sessions. A necessity to recognize and adjust to the changed attitudes of youth toward work also is urged by some who admit the difficulty of reaching young people. The current dilemma is that it may seem discriminatory to provide information whose content and form (comic books with bright colors rather than small type printed documents with difficult vocabularies) are most suited to the youngest, least academic pupils.

Low socioeconomic status overlaps so fully with the category discussed above that attention need only be directed to the issue, more rarely discussed in the United States or Canada, of the information needs of the minority of working class youth who go on to higher education, usually as the first in their families to achieve this distinction. One of the essential tasks of an information program is to expand the horizons of such youth, since British and American studies show that, controlling for ability, graduates from working class or minority backgrounds tend to enter more familiar, less prestigious and less well-paid jobs than their fellow students from higher economic and social backgrounds (224; 457; 560; 279; 194).

In France, young people from low socioeconomic groups who enter higher education have disproportionately elected the teaching of academic subjects at the secondary levels as the most desirable job because, it is said, this is the only occupation involving preparation at the higher education level with which they have had direct contact. Since teaching is overcrowded, ONISEP, the French information service, tries to present alternatives to students, calling to their attention fields with vacancies and larger rewards. In the same way the French information program attempts, by administering an aptitude test, to discourage potentially unsuitable students from entering the first year of medical school from which only a small proportion are promoted to the restricted-entry second year. Here middle class students are more likely to be involved, especially sons of doctors. There is, therefore, scope in all upward and downward direction to differentiate information according to socioeconomic status.

Concern about world of work information for youth whose racial, ethnic, or national origins distinguish them from the majority has taken different forms in the few countries where a problem is seen. The American inclination is automatically to assign all Indians, black and Spanish-surnamed youth to a disadvantaged category, while other ethnic groups such as Italians or Poles may argue without great success for similar status. Other countries tend to look at individual cases rather than whole categories. Immigrant children distinguished by language difficulties, unfamiliarity with local institutions, and conflicting pressures from the family and the new society are generally accepted as disadvantaged and in need of special assistance beyond the usual transition services. But race as such is discounted, as a chairman of the British Community Relations Commission asserts:

> Minority groups identifiable by the colour of their skin are not underprivileged. Many are doing extremely well in the professions, in business, and in skilled employment. Nonetheless, the census shows that a high proportion of them are concentrated in our inner city centres and share with others who live there, the disadvantages of that situation-poor housing, old schools, high turnover of teachers and so on, plus of course in many cases diminishing job opportunities, particularly for young males (69, 28).

Remedial or special transition services for the disadvantaged have a varying emphasis, according to the definitions adopted. Those who classify entire groups as disadvantaged tend to emphasize a widening of options, upward mobility, and proportionate participation in higher education and prestigious employment. Examples are the U.S. College Entrance Examination Board's publication A Chance to Go to College: A Directory of 800 Colleges That Have Special Help for Students from Minorities and Low Income Families, and one by another group, Scholarships for American Indian Youth. A Canadian study concludes:

> Disadvantaged students can benefit considerably from being placed in situations that offer opportunities and advantages to which they have not been previously exposed. Since because of their back-

> ground they are far from the saturation point, this exposure apparently has a considerable impact on their career goals and intentions... Another important conclusion that can be derived from the results of this study is that the disadvantaged do respond to opportunities...a sizeable proportion apparently respond positively by elevating their goals and intentions (81, 396).

American research and policy studies frequently recommend that special and intensive labor market information efforts should be focused on the disadvantaged to compensate for what they lack at home and in their communities. Psychosocial information has been singled out in particular (840, 495, 506-7). The Ohio State University longitudinal study of youth cautions, however, that for blacks, "raising the level of labor market information may simply aggravate frustration unless labor market discrimination is effectively eliminated (646, 20). Whether the characteristics of jobs should specify the racial or ethnic composition of the existing work force is a sensitive issue today. Failure to give this information may be unfair to the consumers, but presentation of the fact without comment also may be resented as not allowing for potential change.

More modest performance objectives are held in countries where individuals are singled out as disadvantaged. If they can be brought to roughly the standard of their own group, the remedial action may be considered successful. Reducing as well as increasing aspirations are valid goals. In Great Britain, a particular issue has arisen with regard to some young Asians whose educational and occupational aspirations are considered realistically high in light of British standards. The prevailing tendency among those who give information and guidance has been to regard it as their duty of dampen the ambitions of these young people so that they conform to British aspiration patterns. Taking issue with this attitude and accepting the North American enthusiasm for rising aspirations among minorities, Bonham-Carter, then chairman of Britain's Community Relations Commission, told the 1973 annual meeting of the Institute of Careers Officers:

> There is I believe a strong case that whenever possible these aspirations should be encouraged and actively channelled into training that will help the individual to realise his ambitions. For the most part high aspirations are a healthy symptom, it means that immigrants and the children of immigrants have neither accepted the low aspirations held for them by society nor as residents of deprived areas (69, 30).

Whatever diversity of opinion may exist about the definition of disadvantaged young people, general agreement prevails that physically and mentally handicapped youngsters, particularly those in special schools, require an intensification of ordinary information activities. But they need, at the same time, many additional services and coordinated programs as well as outreach measures which link social and manpower services, contacts with the home, work preparation, transition services, and work with employers. It is clear that the transition services, even in intensified form, are not sufficient by themselves to ease the difficult entry to work for this group. But an education system which limits itself to special schooling, providing little or no help toward the transition to work, is doubly deficient. Nowhere is provision for this group entirely adequate, but Holland and the Scandinavian countries are in advance of others (835a). British activities and proposals for improvementof the transition services for this group also are notable, including special work preparation courses offered at the Employment Rehabilitation Centres (formerly Industrial Rehabilitation Units) (856; 288, 37-47, 69; 576e; 576g).

Clearly one of the liveliest issues for the information services, as for the other transition services, is the mounting pressure to eliminate all sex stereotyping of educational and occupational information (900; 805, 5; 929; 923). A campaign has been won recently in Wisconsin to eliminate all sex categorization from the microcard files of VIEW (Vocational Information on Education and Work), a major source of occupational information in 90 percent of the state's high schools (883, 27).

Positive programs are sought as well. In most countries, the emphasis is placed on informing and encouraging girls to consider the educational, training, and employment options usually regarded as male preserves. In Sweden the policy in the home, school, and workplace calls for each sex to enter the jobs and roles of the other. While there isno evidence to date that Swedish males have been as responsive as females to the double-edged effort to widen occupational horizons and life-styles, it is clear that such a policy is a necessary prerequisite to any large-scale transformation of sex roles. This approach also seems better suited to current labor force and employment developments than the unilateral encouragement to females to broaden their occupational choices. If the latter policy were a huge success, male employment might increase, and some jobs might remain unfilled unless many males voluntarily shifted to "female" jobs. There is a twofold reason why this would be the result. Women are an ever-increasing proportion of the labor force in relation to men, and the number of "male" jobs is, on the whole, growing more slowly than the traditionally "female" jobs. If men are to be lured into "female" jobs, earnings and other aspects of "female" jobs will have to be improved perhaps making them more attractive to women as well.

Despite the inroads of Women's Liberation in the countries included in this study, most young women, especially those who leave school early, do not plan on a long or permanent commitment to the labor force. Perhaps it is a realistic appraisal of their mothers' jobs and their own poor prospects which cause so many to hope for a brief, premarriage work period followed by a lifelong position as a housewife. In any case, many show little interest in career type jobs, extended training, or planning for the future. An important task of an information service, therefore, is to alert girls about to leave school that they are likely to spend more of their lives than they estimate in jobs and that they should be more selective about their occupations (161, 149-50; 32, 10-11, 772; 774). Simultaneously, employers must widen training and employment opportunities for females in accord with current public opinion and legal provisions for equality.

Youth who live on farms or in rural or forest areas have special needs for information because of limited choices at home and the distance from educational and employment opportunities. Young people in sparsely populated areas or small centers must be prepared for mobility and receive information about the jobs available elsewhere. Their own areas tend to have inferior information services, so that special reinforcement is required. However, information services should be supplemented y other programs for young migrants, such as reception centers, housing, community welfare and recreation organizations, and follow-up transition services. Japan and France have paid particular attention to this aspect of youth's needs. A few countries also have begun to think of inner city populations as needing additional information because of the mismatch between available jobs and personal qualifications. While racial, ethnic, or socioeconomic background may be more significant than the physical place of residence, such youth may find strictly local information inappropriate.

EXTENT OF PROGRAMS

The overall amount of orientation and information activities is difficult to establish, especially in the countries with voluntary provisions and local control over education. For example, no direct comparison can be made between a Canadian study which concluded that 47.7 percent of the secondary schools have "many activities for diffusion of occupational information" (81, 301) and the searching British inquiry in 1971-72, based on explicit and high standards of performance, which discovered that only a minority of the secondary schools fully implemented a careers information program (306, 61). Based on nationwide responses in 1973 by high school juniors, the American College Testing Program concluded that only 30 percent of the 11th graders had participated in all or more of the informational activities directed towards career planning "at a time when major career-related decisions are becoming imminent" (579, 213). The National Occupational Information Service of the U.S. Department of Labor believes that the eight states which have participated in its occupational information systems grants program will have systems by 1980 which will be available to 80 percent of their young people.

Scattered evidence exists on the uneven distribution within countries of informational activities. The Canadian study discovered that high school students in the larger communities or in schools with a higher proportion of children from white-collar families were more likely than others to encounter occupational information at school (81, 304, 308). British surveys indicate that the largest schools (over 800 pupils) are somewhat better equipped and devote more time to careers work than smaller schools; also that secondary modern schools, who leavers are most likely to go directly to work and to come from working class backgrounds, make more complete provision for careers education than do the schools with large numbers of college-bound students (288, 7-10, 15-25).

Little is known about the relative importance accorded in actual practice to the seven components of the information program listed earlier. The same British inquiry finds that curriculum courses on careers stress the following subjects, listed in order of importance: qualifications for jobs, further education opportunities, general aspects of work, information about local industries, the whole range of occupational opportunities open, opportunities in industrial training, and the relation of school courses to occupations (288, 7, 58). This list conforms to that of another British national survey in 1968-69 (843, ch. 9). Extracurricular information activities also stress the study of job characteristics and requirements.

Designating eight separate categories of information which tally with the final four in the list in this chapter, Hayes analyzed the occupational information presented in the late 1960s by three important British sources: careers officers of the Youth Employment Service, careers teachers in the schools, and the careers literature readily available to young people. Hayes found that each of the three sources gave first or second rank to information of longterm relevance about the prospects of the occupation. The formal framework, including information about trade union agreements and legislation, also ranked very high, as did the content and nature of work. Hayes, like other academic authorities, found that young workers felt that these official sources devoted too little attention to the psychosocial aspects of work (359, 17-34). Two groups of American high school girls affirmed the great importance of psychosocial career information, although one of the surveys rated information on the training and education needed for jobs even higher (841, 35-6). However, American counselors, occupational education administrators, information specialists, and the influential National Vocational Guidance Association stressed job characteristics and requirements, labor market projections, and local job vacancies as the high priority areas for further development (654, 22-3; 182, 37-9, 55-7, 67-9; 949; 91 ii, 5; 766, 4-7).

In summary, it is fair to say that few countries are able to rep r report accurately and comprehensively on the composition of their actual programs or on the emphasis, time, and resources devoted to the individual components. Yet the differences between programs in say, Germany, or Sweden, on the one-hand, and Italy, Canada, or the United States, on the other hand, are so great that the former countries appear to be qualitatively superior in their efforts, despite the lack of detailed statistical evidence. Chapter 5 continues the analysis of the the educational-occupational informational activity, stressing other aspects.

CHAPTER 5. ORIENTATION AND INFORMATION: ACTIVITIES, ORGANIZATION, EVALUATION

Official programs to orient and inform young people about the world of work are necessarily complex as they attempt to convert data into information, to deliver all the varieties of information described in the preceding chapter, and to differentiate information carefully according to the situation and needs of a number of subgroups. Further complexity is introduced because a wide range of methods, media, and activities is available to those who plan and provide public programs. Given the individual differences among the consumers, the need is for a variety and mix of activities, rather than for a single best method.

METHODS AND MEDIA

To avoid mere list-making, the authorities have introduced various principles of classification to describe the methods and media used in official orientation and information activities. The European Common Market's publication, Expose sur les activites d'orientation professionelle dans la Communaute, distinguishes between collective information (pamphlets, films, radio and television programs, conferences, meetings, and expositions) and individual information, which often merges with guidance and counseling (128). An additional subdivision identifies the various consumers of information-pupils, parents, young workers, counselors, teachers, and so forth. Methods may be grouped as active or passibe, with the latter less valued by the theorists. Another way of classifying information methods is by the age, educational level, and occupational aspirations of the consumers. A division of activities by whether they occur in or outside the classroom also is possible. In one functional classification the media are separated into four groups: prestructured and fixed (printed information), input controlled by the individual (computers), simulation of situations (games and role-playing), and real situation experience (work visits) (328, 16-7).

In some countries the emphasis now is on experimental and novel methods, especially those involving audiovisual aids, simulation situations, games, role-playing, group dynamics, and multimedia approaches which combine information and guidance (78; 70; 959). Technology also occupies a prominent place in a few countries, with particular emphasis on the computer (351; 352; 354; 921; 935). Counselors in American schools which had computer time-sharing programs in conjunction with a regional resources center at a college or university gave the programs high ratings in regard to coverage, currency, completeness of occupational information, ease of use for students, and overall helpfulness to students. Nor do young people regard the computer as dehumanizing (665;

673; 10-15; 784). Although there are many computer systems for information and guidance in the United States, a national survey of high schools as late as 1973 indicated that only three percent of the pupils had the use of a computer system in their school (673, 3a, 10-15). An insider in the development of federal policy and financing of computerized career information-guidance systems faults the effort because it has lacked a prior or concurrent attempt to develop and disseminate high quality local labor market information and because the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare have proceeded individually without coordination of thier efforts. As a result, the effectiveness of the pioneer computer systems is difficult to judge and the potential customers do not know which to choose (766, 1-2).

It seems certain that, in the long run, computers will play an important role in many countries in receiving, storing, processing, retrieving, manipulating, and dispensing educational-occupational information for use by those who inform, advise, and place young people, as well as directly by the young people or their parents (351; 352; 354; 784; 89). In shorter run, advocates of computers have to surmount problems of basic and operating costs hardware compatibility, development of an information base, adequacy and rapid updating of local information, administrative arrangements, and establishment of a large enough market to justify the expense. The computer also offers opportunities to link information with the development of self and career awareness, career planning, and decisionmaking skills, but, as various experts declare, the computer is not a substitute for guidance by a qualified human being (784, 8).

As efforts to provide information have multiplied and the use of computers has spread, more interest has been shown in creating career resource centers within schools as well as in other centers. Here the collection, distribution, and use of information materials in all media can be centralized, and the consistency and reliability of information provided by different sources can be controlled. Such control is an important function where diverse and unofficial sources contribute large amounts of information. Some proposals and programs unite the efforts of individual schools of the same level, while others cut across educational levels and types of users. One of the most ambitious attempts is the Career-Information System in Oregon (United States), which has taken as its clientele the whole labor force of the state. It has even set up a Manpower Information Clearinghouse to aid program planners for education and training and an Occupational Information Access System which serves young people throughout the state (534; 536).

In terms of frequency of use among young people, printed information materials, talks by teachers and invited guests, and such audiovisual methods as slides, films, cassettes, and special radio or TV programs still predominate over the newer forms and the centralized distribution centers. Such traditional methods as careers libraries, special curriculum courses, career days or conventions, and direct exposure towork situations also hold an important place. The case has been made in Great Britain that extracurricular information activities cannot compensate for failure to offer or deficiencies in special curriculum courses on careers (32; 30). Quasi-official programs by various youth groups, often offered as brief residential courses, are significant additions in some countries to the official activities.

In New York State in 1966-67, a sample survey among counselors in secondary schools and two-year colleges and among administrators in occupational education found that each group ranked printed materials first, in terms of both actual use and inherent usefulness. However, rank differences between the two indices on use and usefulness suggested that curriculum courses, work exposure, group conferences, and other forms were more valued than used. (182, 31, 33-5, 49, 51-3). In a Swedish study of second-year upper secondary pupils, 17 to 18 years old, it was disclosed that the great majority (71 percent) had not consulted the school's career library before a course on educatinnal and occupational information and that only 45 percent did so afterwards (800, 37). The British survey of secondary schools in 1971-72 showed that the various forms of curricular and extracurricular information activities were well represented, although little use was made of film strips or slides and available, highly-rated radio programs (288). A British national survey in 1968-69 indicated that all schools in the sample provided some extracurricular careers activities for some of the boys, with an average of four activities per boy. Almost all of the schools (97 percent) reported that careers officers came to their schools to give talks (843, ch. 9, 10).

One of the most popular forms in Britain is the curriculum course on occupations of which Watts found five types (924). According to an official British survey of 1971-72, 70 percent of the secondary schools offered some such course, about equally divided between special courses for school-leavers and courses for other pupils (288, 7-10, 27, 57). Approaching the subject from a different angle, Thomas and Wetherell found that slightly over half of British nonexamination fourth-and fifth-year boy leavers (the least academically inclined) had received careers lessons in 1968-69, but that the percentages were considerably lower in the selective grammar and technical schools and for pupils taking examinations (GCE and CSE). The talks given by the careers officers were attended by over 60 percent of all the boys (73 percent of the nonexamination boys, and 88 percent of pupils in comprehensive schools) 843, Table 9.4). Obstacles to a "balanced, integrated Careers Programme for pupils of all levels of ability and potential within their schools," according to the Inner London Education Authority, consist of the high rate of staff turnover the complexities of timetable and subject options, the problems in allocating time and resources to careers teachers, and the pressure of work for external examinations (305b, 14).

A survey carried out in West Germany in 1970 among 15-year-old school-leavers from the Hauptschule showed that almost 90 percent had participated in the classroom lectures and discussions conducted in the last school year by the Federal Employment Institute's staff. Arbeitslehre or practical instruction was given by classroom teachers to one-third of the 15-year-old leavers from the Hauptschule in 1970

(2143, 2; 214b, 13). The Scandinavian countries achieve high coverage in their curriculum courses and lectures, which are compulsory in certain grades. In a national survey of 11th grade American high school pupils in 1973, less than one-third had taken a school course which discussed a variety of jobs or attended a "job fair" or "career day" (670, Table 10). In northern California, Thal-Larsen found that only 20 percent of public high schools offered world of work courses; half of the private Catholic high schools provided such courses; and almost all two-year colleges had courses in career guidance which included occupational and labor market information (840, 451, 454, 458). Bullock's study of some high schools attended largely by Blacks and Chicanos in Los Angeles found that most of the schools offered a guidance class in 10th grade (86, 62).

An area of classroom teaching which cannot be measured easily is the introduction of educational-occupational information into classroom subjects. The national survey in Britain in 1971-72 found that more than half of the comprehensive secondary schools, but only 20 percent of the selective schools claim to do this. Whether such integration occurred has depended on the degree to which the school's curriculum was planned by a team and the amount of influence exerted by the Careers Department or careers teacher (288, 7; 32, ch. 4). A nationwide survey of 11th graders in the United States in 1973 reported that almost half of the pupils had several classroom discussions of jobs related to the study subject, while 30 percent had one or two such occasions (670, Table 10; 544). Recently, the situation may be more favorable because the American career education movement is strongly committed to an incorporation of world of work materials in all regular academic curriculum courses (400; 401; 404).

Critizing the highly academic content of the curriculum in French schools, the trade unions among others have called for the redesign of courses so that pupils can be taught about the world they will enter--the structures, trends, institutions, and basic economy of the work world, and the content of trades and occupations--and can learn to assess the mass media with its misleading or glamorous views of work (133; 624c). In Sweden and other Scandinavian countries, world of work information has been included in the teaching of various subjects, especially social studies and civics (805, 11).

Collections of reference material in general or careers libraries remain a significant source of information. An Australian survey in 1975 revealed that 31 percent of the students either had no careers literature in their school libraries or were unaware of it (23, para. 2:140). A nationwide Canadian study in 1965 discovered that over 85 percent of high school students knew whether or not there was a place in the school where occupational literature was available and that about 40 percent actually had used the collection at least once since the school year began (80, 57, 59). Among American 11th graders in 1973, 60 percent said that they had read at least one job description in the school library or guidance office (670, Table 10). A 1966 national survey of American high school seniors disclosed that 81 percent of the students had read some educational or occupational literature (94, 68). However, another U.S. survey of 10th, 11th, and 12th grade high school students in 1973 found that the school library was ranked very low as a source of information on jobs or careers (673,4). According to a survey of California schools, printed materials were consulted more often than audiovisual. Only 26 percent consulted VIEW, the least used of audiovisual materials. For all categories of printed information, 55 percent of the students used them at least once during the school year, with pamphlets and books in first place. Thal-Larsen speculated that accessibility and problems of operating equipment may have been as responsible for the utilization rates as actual preferences. Pupils using Philadelphia VICS computer system rated books and other reading materials very low as a source of occupational information compared to the computer (841, 62-3, 125.

Among the schools investigated by the British Department of Education and Science in 1971-72, 96 percent claimed that careers literature was accessible and available for borrowing, and about 85 percent had open displays of such literature, which in some cases consisted almost entirely of free recruitment literature sent out by employers. Most schools bought some careers literature, but the spending per head was small (288, 2-3). These findings bore out those of another British national survey which showed that all 96 schools in the sample had some careers books or pamphlets and 81 used them regularly. Of the 89 schools with library space for such materials, 72 made regular use of it. Display boards and facilities were available in 87 schools and were used regularly in 74. An index system for careers literature or information existed in 64 schools of which 53 used it regularly (843, ch. 9). A sample study in 1971 in South East England showed that the proportion of pupils claiming to have looked at careers literature at school rose from 40 percent among fourth-year leavers (age 15) to 85 percent among those with two or more "A" levels (university entrance preparation) (278, 134).

Direct exposure to work situations, also a popular method of conveying occupational information, can take several forms. Some varieties which may have an information spin-off are not analyzed here because fundamentally they have other purposes--to produce occupational skills (cooperative education or work study programs), to provide an alternative educational setting (Parkway School, Philadelphia), or to give the young person income through part-time or vacation work. A less direct source of contact is provided in Britain by link-courses. These allow secondary students to take brief or full courses at a further education college which introduce them to a variety of possible vocational lines (915; 32, 126-7).

Workplace visits, usually of no more than one day, have been a common information activity. Responding to a questionnaire, 42 percent of a national sample of 11th graders in the United States declared that they had taken one or two tours through a local industry, business, hospital, or office to observe jobs, while 23 percent more had taken such tours several times (670, Table 10). The survey in 1971 of British secondary schools indicated that 26 percent of schools arranged for all pupils to make work visits and 69 percent provided for some of their pupils (288, 30-1, 34, 55). Another British national survey, questioning pupils directly, found that 71 percent of all fourth and fifth-year leavers and 79 percent of nonexamination boys had made visits to places of work (843, ch. 9). The difficulty of organizing such visits so that they make a substantial contribution to the acquisition of occupational information has led to some opposition or coolness on the part of schools, employers, trade unions, and individual experts in Great Britain (321, 129; 32, 108-17; 36, 9; 851).

Work sampling or organized work experience can be an important information activity, either in a concentrated block or spread over the year. Defined as an unpaid, closely supervised activity, work sampling is designed to assist pupils, usually in the last years of compulsory education, to make further educational and occupational choices as well as to gain knowledge of the broader work world. From their observations and experience, young people may confirm or reject prior occupational choices. They also may decide not to drop out or leave school early, or they may change their study specialization. A case is made, especially in the United States, for introducing young people from minority, low income, or other disadvantaged backgrounds to occupations which they might otherwise consider beyond their reach. Also, employers who are doubtful about employing the disadvantaged may change their views through the work sampling experience. Work sampling also can be used to expose boys and girls to jobs typically considered the province of the opposite sex.

Work sampling is compulsoty or universal in several Scandinavian countries and is widely used in other northern European countries. In Britain, which did not remove some legal obstacles to work experience schemes until 1973, the 1971-72 survey of careers education in secondary schools revealed that 38 percent of all schools exposed some pupils to work experience (288, 34-5, 55-6). The Institute of Careers Officers' survey in 1969 showed that only about 2 percent of pupils actually had engaged in work experience projects (411, 8-12).

In Sweden, where the form is called PRYO and is highly developed work experience complements curricular instruction about the world of work. PYRO offers direct exploration at the workplace in the eighth and ninth grades of the comprehensive school and is to become a feature of upper secondary school as well. Handicapped pupils participate in PYRO, but are covered by special facilitating and protective provisions (802; 805, 6, 12-13; 626; 929; 53). In the eighth grade (14 to 15-year olds) each pupil is expected to make several study visits to workplaces, usually lasting a day or a half day each. Since PYRO has the goal of fostering a critical attitude and capacity for independent assessment, pupils are expected to ask probing questions about social relations at the workplace, the values of different groups, aims of activities, pay differentials, occupational status, relations between superiors and subordinates, sex roles, and so forth.

The first visit is used to demonstrate how a workplace is organized and functions as a society in miniature. Pupils observe such things as the production flow, physical work environment, and social relations in the enterprise. During the second visit students concentrate on studying individual employers on the job, possibly performing some work tasks. Job content, employment conditions, the salary system, labor relations, and the union situation are examined. Pupils are shown how one employee can have many tasks and how the same tasks recur in different work settings. In the third study visit, the object is to provide direct preparation for the PRYO choice in ninth grade, and to offer a general survey of the labor market and occupational trends. Comparisons are made among firms on such matters as training opportunities, job ladders, enterprise democracy, international position, industrial safety, and work satisfaction. Pupils are also encouraged to match their interests to various lines of work they observe.

During the first half of the ninth grade, each pupil spends two weeks at one or two workplaces, preferably rotating among several jobs, testing his aptitudes and his adaptability to specific work conditions; PYRO can be extended to 36 days in exceptional cases. Assignment to monotonous, repetitive jobs is discouraged, unless such jobs are characteristic of the enterprise; but complicated tasks requiring prior instruction also are excluded. Work sampling and other orientation activities also are intended to aid in the choice of a specialized course in the upper secondary school. It will take some time to discover whether the PRYO program can succeed in its aim of expanding the occupational horizons of girls and boys along untraditional lines, since the present pattern of PRYO placements shows that the two sexes largely choose conventional occupational areas (15, 51-2; 900). More basic changes are needed in home life, school behavior, educational choices, and job structures before PRYO can reflect sex-free occupational choices.

The operation of the Swedish program is predicated on a heavy commitment of staff time and resources, advance planning among all the concerned parties, the cooperation of employers and unions which have signed a national agreement with government agencies on the contacts between schools and working life, careful selection of the placements, and staff visits to pupils during the work sampling. Careful preparation beforehand and reviews afterwards are built in, including discussions in class of personal experiences and materials supplied by local firms, the Labor Market Administration, and other sources. Despite the well-developed system, Swedish employers, trade unions, and others are not satisfied that PRYO is contributing as much as it could to introducing young people to the work world. Reforms are constantly suggested (480, 90; 834, 280-1; 608, 7-8).

To make a work experience program a true learning experience rather than a random break in the school routine or a stimulus to school-leaving requires more effort, cooperation, and time than many countries have been able to devote (98; 608; 411, 13-22; 851; 214i, 30). However, this activity is likely to expand because exposure to the work world is increasingly viewed as an important ingredient of education (288, 34-5; 736; 894; 946; 834, 280-1; 477, 25).

Launched by the National Institute of Education in four high schools and projected to spread to at least one school in each of 42 states in 1976, an American experiment called Experience-Based Career Education (EBCE) is a new form which combines work sampling for information and guidance purposes with alternative learning settings and styles. In the experimental design only a small part of the student body is in the EBCE program (at Olney High School in Philadelphia, just over 5 percent). Choosing from among 20 broad career interest areas, the students' exploratory phase consists of working for one or two days a week at a variety of nonpaid jobs for 12 weeks. After that, either another exploration area or a specialized 12-week work plan, also nonpaid, may be chosen. Some students continue on individual projects after their specialization period ends. Career guidance and basic literacy and numeracy skills are provided by the counselor-coordinators who also develop and maintain contacts with employers. Regular academic courses also are part of the program (733, 4-5; 867).

As valuable as this type of intensive activity may be for those few who experience it, a major issue is the feasibility of obtaining enough employer participation to extend it to a larger proportion within each school and to many more schools. If each pupil were exposed for a more limited time period, perhaps three weeks, this type of program might usefully enroll all American school youth, serving the same functions as the Swedish PRYO system.

The variety of official informational methods and materials is so great from country to country and so little is known in any one country about the output and experience of others that it might be profitable to all to hold international conventions at which papers would be given and samples of all types of official educational-occupational information would be exhibited and discussed. The exchange of experience in this area could be organized by individual countries or by any of a number of international organizations. Although the producers of information are primarily concerned, representatives of the disseminators and consumers might profitably attend. An indication of the potential utility is conveyed by a British Careers Officer's observation, after a study visit to Germany, that "the variety and visual quality" of the official German information materials were "somewhat in advance of what is available in the United Kingdom" (97, Spring 1973, 38).

Exchanges of experience also may suggest new ways of bringing information to the attention of all the concerned parties. In Japan, a special effort is made through the mass media to disseminate labor market information to employers concerning new entrants and to report fully on the demand and supply situation for new school graduates, their starting wages, and related subjects. Prefectural governments and Public Employment Security Offices (PESO) also produce and distribute information on local conditions. All of these materials are distributed free to the schools and are publicized by the employment service speakers who regularly address groups in the schools.

On major streets in large cities, France's ONISEP maintains attractive commercial stores where all of the official information literature is available for consultation or purchase. A desirable feature is the presence of a counselor in an adjoining office.

At the national level in Sweden there is a committee for the use of Television and Radio in Education (TRU) in which both the education and labor market authorities are active. Having broader aims than the improvement of the transition process, these public TV and radio programs distribute educational-occupational information relevant to various age groups. The Swedish authorities also use advertisements in newspapers to convey information about the world of work in specific cases.

Another area where comparative exchange can be productive is in efforts to improve the content, form, methods, and delivery of information. Free distribution or a minimal charge is a key issue, since many valuable information sources are little used or neglected entirely by schools if a charge is imposed. A particular problem is the production of information suited to the age, academic level, and background of the consumers. It is known that the utilization of educational-occupational information by young people and their parents is influenced by its format, style, comprehensibility, size, attractiveness, and accessibility. In particular, printed matter which demands a better than average reading skill or which describes jobs beyond the aspirations or capacity of the average early leaver will be ignored by many. Among the measures to meet this criticism are analyses of the readibility of careers literature, standards such as the National Vocational Guidance Association in the United States has adopted, expert panels which review materials in terms of their suitability for the ultimate user, and tests and attitude surveys among users (398; 391; 390; 301d, 14-7; 734, 21-2, 97, Autumn 1972, 46). Sweden has conducted comprehensive surveys among pupils, parents, and SYO consultants of reactions to various types of information and the different media, as well as opinions about their usefulness (6; 800; 797, 1-10).

One of the open issues is whether young people should receive only the output of the official information agencies or should use the products of commercial publishers and employers also. In several northern European countries competition from commercial sources is minimal or nonexistent, and schools do not use such products. Commercial activity is fostered by inadequacies in the official output--too little use of audiovisual and experimental methods, unattractive appearance and content of printed materials, too difficult a reading level, and so forth. Commercial output is highly developed only in the United States where, in response to the government's career education initiatives, more than 3,000 commercially produced books, filmstrips, and kits were counted at the end of 1975. An evaluation of these materials, financed by the National Institute of Education, finds many of these products inadequate. The report finally has approved 700 items for a buyer's guide, but accompanies it by a supplement detailing the deficiencies in the selections and ways of overcoming the faults (578f). Similar results have been reached in a survey by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (67). British commercial or nonprofit output from such organizations as CRAC (areer Research and Advisory Centre) has made some excellent contributions, supplementing the official sources, but a continuing problem is the high cost of such output and the limited sales, forcing such companies as Cornmarket Press to abandon its enterprise.

The direct production and distribution by employers of literature, films, slides, and other materials and speeches in schools by company personnel are controversial. Several northern European countries forbid the distribution in schools of any company materials or talks by individual employers on the ground that they give an unobjective account of the industry or firm and may be disguised recruiting efforts (42, 43-44). France, however, prints company materials in one of its publications which is widely read in the schools. Before the reorganization of the Careers Service in Great Gritain, the information division of the Central Youth Employment Executive (CYEE) screened employer products centrally, approved some for distribution, and actually mailed some employer materials free of distribution charges. There even was a little known or used scheme to assist employers in the production of their information and recruiting materials (734, 21-2).

In the United States, employer literature is freely used and distributed. According to a New York State survey, booklets prepared by employers tend to rank relatively low in usefulness but at the same time have a higher rank for frequency of use than official information because of industry's aggressive and free distribution of pamphlets and brochures (182, 71). Employer participation in job fairs, career days, school talks, and parents' evenings varies greatly within those countries which encourage or permit such activities. When companies regard such events purely as recruiting devices, their reactions vary according to the degree of competition in the local labor market. A group of large companies in New York City, a labor surplus area, has found that such employer participation has little payoff, yielding no better recruits than come as a result of recommendations or private agency referrals. Nor do they seem to contribute much to pupil information. However, these and other companies have aided schools, particularly hard-pressed "ghetto" schools, in new and interesting ways, including orientation courses run by employers at the schools or the workplace and active efforts to reduce the hostility of young people toward business (18; 756).

An independent information role for trade unions on occupations and work is most frequently suggested by the unions themselves, but others endorse the action. A New York State survey urges trade unions and their members to inform pupils about "what workers like and dislike about their jobs, and whether the experience of the employees confirms or contradicts what the employers say on any aspect of the job" (182, 71). The Council of Europe also calls for independent trade union activity in the information process, going beyond the distribution of materials about trade unions (145).

ORGANIZATION

As a transition service, educational-occupational information is more complex in its organizational structures and interrelationships and personnel than either guidance or placement services. Those who generate, create, produce, analyze, interpret, process, update, or issue educational-occupational information may be quite remote from those who, in direct contact with young people and their parents, acquire, assess, mediate, use, deliver, or disseminate the information. Organizational coordination is difficult to achieve even when these two groups are reinforced by a middle group which collects, assembles, organizes, classifies, explains, publicizes, extracts, summarizes, circulates, distributes, evaluates, criticizes, or revises information.

One of the developments of recent years, visible in several countries has been a degree of centralization and unification, such as already exists in Germany and Japan, of the official production of career information for youth. ONISEP (Office National d'Information sur les Enseignements et les Professions), which was established in 1970 as part of the French Ministry of Education to produce and distribute educational-occupational information essentially for youth and their advisers, is a move in this direction, as is the Swedish provision under the SYO program, described in chapter 3. In Great Britain, as a result of the Employment and Training Act of 1973, a merger between the extensive youth information activities of the Central Youth Employment Executive and the sparse and underdeveloped information activity for adults has produced the Careers and Occupational Information Centre (COIC) of the Employment Services Agency. As an all age service, COIC not only produces and distributes specialized occupational information for youth, but has established a valuable central register of careers information research compiled from local careers officers, careers teachers, and others. Another major official effort in Britain is the Careers Education and Guidance Project of the Schools Council which is testing materials for use in classrooms (97, Autumn 1972, 44-[illegible]).

American initiatives were taken recently under the impact of Congressional requests for a comprehensive manpower information system. In August 1975, three representatives of the most concerned federal agencies--Manpower Administration, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and Office of Education--signed an agreement to establish the national leadership essential to coordinate legislatively mandated activities related to occupational manpower information. The three members of the Occupational Manpower Coordinating Committee are to identify areas where interagency cooperation will make for efficiency and avoid duplication and recommend measures to increase program effectiveness (767).

The second American approach has been to establish a National Occupational Information Service (NOIS) in the Employment and Training

Administration of the Department of Labor as a response to President Ford's call for improved information for young people to assist the transition from school to work. Based on the highly developed activities of the Bureau of Labor Statistics which serves educational and training institutions as well as individuals, the new American effort, in reverse of the British situation, has had to concentrate on devising information systems suited to the needs of young people and capable of reaching them. Instead of launching a central government effort, in 1975 the NOIS began a pilot program of grants to eight states to enable them to develop exemplary information systems, based on department guidelines and standards. The grants, averaging $300,000 in the first year, will continue for three to four years at a gradually declining amount for development costs, with state and local governments and schools bearing information delivery or equipment costs from the outset. Emphasis is placed on the utilization of existing ideas, programs, and research, developed recently through funds provided in various federal laws. Rather than create new raw data, NOIS seeks improvement of the information base through incorporation and dissemination of existing local data and the training of competent local personnel. The Washington office will provide advice, training institutes, technical assistance, a clearinghouse, competent local personnel, conferences, and exhibits. Additional efforts to stimulate the production and distribution of educational-occupational information are directed by the Fund for the Improvement of Secondary Education (FIPSE) and the National Institute of Education's pilot programs (767; 880; 882; 841, 46-9).

Since it is a voluntary act for states and localities to seek grants, the American system gives the United States less uniformity of coverage and program than is achieved elsewhere by national systems which provide the local modification and amplification of a national information base. Insufficient cooperation between the Department of Labor and the education authorities in the Department of Health Education and Welfare also has been cited as a weakness or state level of well established agencies devoted to all of the transition services weakens the effort to deliver the information services sponsored by NOIS and isolates this type of information from the other information components specified in chapter 4, especially personal and social competences, psychosocial aspects of work, and social and economic institutions.

Where several types of specialized personnel or teachers with other duties are the chief dispensers of information, coordination and consistency problems arise. A recent survey of British careers education finds that in over half of the schools the lines of communication seem insecure among the many types of personnel directly or indirectly engaged in giving information and guidance (288, 13). Proposals for careers teams in the schools, involving teaching, non-teaching, and advisory personnel, seek to deal with the situation (296, 5-6; 319 745; 164). It also remains to be seen whether COIC will overcome the earlier charges that the Central Youth Employment Executive (CYEE) did not adequately coordinate and supervise local information efforts, failed to innovate and lead, and left gaps in information.

West Germany leaves the production and dissemination of occupational information to Federal Employment Institute personnel, but more careers teachers are being developed and other school personnel increasingly give educational advice with occupational implications. In France recent decisions favor participation and cooperation in school information work by several kinds of personnel, without real coordination. ONISEP national and regional officials do not come into the schools but supply the documentary center in each school with all ONISEP materials; they also answer direct inquiries from the public. The documentary center within schools is manned by part-time teachers, and in some cases, an information specialist. The principal teacher of each class has primary responsibility for instructing the pupils in this area, and the counselor of the CIO, who is not a school employee, is in charge of organizing information work in the school in addition to other duties.

PERSONNEL

Bearing in mind the number of questions which educational-occupational information addresses and the variety of modes of presenting information, it is not surprising that a wide assortment of individuals are involved in the official efforts to product, distribute, and offer it, ranging from occupational analysts, psychologists, labor market experts, statisticians, computer experts, writers, and film-makers to counselors, careers teachers, career education coordinators, industrial liaison officers, classroom teachers, information specialists, librarians, and file clerks. When one adds the potential contributions to official information by other school personnel, employers trade unions, parents, young people, and others, the organizational problem is magnified.

Even in well-coordinated systems, questions arise about the types of personnel needed to disseminate information about the work world in the schools, their education and training, and methods of utilizing nonofficial sources. Comprehensive transition systems have begun to appoint information specialists who can answer the questions posed by counselors, careers teachers, parents, or young people; receive and locate materials; organize libraries; manage computer time, issue acquisition lists; and arrange displays, either for a single school or group of schools. Such persons usually have no guidance duties. Clerks, paraprofessionals, and pupils are used to file, classify, and handle information materials which otherwise remain unsorted or occupy the time of the professionals who should be dealing directly with the consumers of information. Even if a resource center is established for a community or region, an information specialist may be needed in each school (728; 324; 33, 101; 97 Spring 1973, 40-1; 97, vol. 26, no. 3, 18).

How much educational-occupational information should an ordinary classroom teacher possess? Quite a lot, say some experts, in light of the teachers' influence on pupils, their pastoral responsibilities, and their capacity to mislead or prejudice pupils inadvertently. Some programs offering work experience or study visits in industry have been opened both to subject teachers and to those with a special responsibility for information and guidance (326; 320; 604, 11, 41-2). Sweden has introduced a program to give teachers a two to four week period of work in offices or factories during the school year. In Scotland, where 11 percent of secondary teachers are qualified as careers teachers, an official complaint was registered that only 20 teachers in one area could be placed in industry (36, 11). Some countries provide compulsory courses for all prospective teachers on the labor market, on occupations, and even on labor market institutions. In the British training for careers officers, one-third of the course is devoted to labor market subjects, but careers teachers still are unprepared (288, 25-36). Whatever degree of responsibility is placed on classroom teachers, most countries agree that they, like counselors, require more preparation in educational-occupational information than they have had (319, 86-7; 326; 414, 20; 97, vol. 26, no. 3, 18-9).

A prime question is whether the personnel chiefly responsible for educational-occupational information within schools should be directly employed by the schools. Great Britain, in which career teachers and career officers share information responsibilities, maintains both direct and indirect school personnel, since careers officers are employees of the Local Education Authority but not of individual schools. An inquiry among careers officers in 1972 disclosed that about 10 percent of their time was devoted to information activities (299). In the new Swedish system, the SYO consultant is hired by the local education authority and is assigned to a specific school or schools. West Germany and Japan, among others, send out personnel of the chief manpower agency for occupational information work in the educational institutions.

When the decision is made to use school personnel several questions arise: should they spend part or full-time on information activity, should they also be counselors, should others (not teachers) be employed for this function, how much should they be paid as compared to regular teachers, and what kind of training should they have to enter and hold their jobs? The answers vary not only between countries but also within countries. Moreover, the actual practice may depart from the idea, especially in countries where national standards do not prevail. A central issue in some countries is the ability of counsellorswho specialize in advising individuals to dispense information to groups. French experience suggests that one person may not perform both tasks well; and, since the total number of counsellprs normally has been insufficient for individual guidance work, information work must be left to others, in this case, teachers. In other countries, computers, information specialists, and group sessions, rather than one-to-one information sessions are proposed.

American school counselors, the principal information officers in most schools, usually have had teacher training and teaching experience. The quantity and quality of their instruction in occupational information is unsatisfactory in general. Most frequently they serve as full-time counselors with no teaching duties, some increment in salary over teachers, and relatively little opportunity to carry our information functions because of the press of other duties. Under American career education which makes individual teachers responsible for embedding world of work information in the classwork, serious questions will continue to arise about the accuracy and consistency of the information dispensed, until the time when all teachers will have received adequate preparation for this role during their training period. An informed official observer declares that "under the auspices of 'career education' much misinformation about the labor market is disseminated. Students tend to get their occupational information from professionals with very little experience and exposure to non-educational work" (766, 4-5). In light of the serious deficiencies in American counselor training and performance in the whole area of educational-occupational information, one cannot be sanguine about the reliance on counselors plus classroom teachers, unreinforced by a large, specialized information staff (264, 104-35; 840, 525-6; 672, 19a; 665, 171; 402; 182, 22-3, 43-4).

Subject teachers who give some of their time to careers work is the prevailing mode in Great Britain which is just beginning a serious training program in careers teaching (288, 13-9; 843, 273-83; 90, 14; 200, 18). In 1974 the British government rejected a suggestion by a House of Commons committee that every secondary school should be required to have a trained careers teacher. Approving increased training of careers teachers, the government nevertheless did not "favour the creation of a specialist, mandatory grade of careers teachers and sees the role of all guidance teachers as complementing the work of the careers officer, in the belief that they can best help him through a full knowledge of the pupil" (296, 5-6). Aside from its desire to leave all staffing decisions to local educational authorities or school governing bodies, the government also is protective of the careers officer.

When the SYO bill was discussed in the Swedish parliament, it was debated whether SYO consultants should be required to be trained teachers. It has been decided that this is neither necessary nor desirable, but the training course is designed to impart some teaching skills to SYO officers. The SYO course is given at university level, counts toward a bachelor's degree, and is heavily weighted with labor market subjects. The course is designed to prepare personnel not only for SYO work in the schools but also for information-guidance in the Labor Market Administration or in private or public firms and other organizations (805; 806; 804).

Candidates for the SYO course are divided into categories. Those under 25 must have acquired at least 80 credits at a university level faculty of arts (120 credits required for a B.A.), of which half are in pedagogy, psychology, and sociology, or they must show an equivalent knowledge. They also must have one year of prior employment experience, of which six months must have been continuous employment outside the educational system. The second group, those over 25, can qualify for admittance to the course by showing 20 university credits in the three specified subjects or equivalent knowledge, plus five years of employment experience, including at least one year of work after age 18, of which at least six months was continuously outside the educational system (803).

In the initial period of SYO recruitment, half the applicants were found to be unqualified; they were largely from the under-25 group and lacked the required job experience outside the schools. On the other hand, some of the older applicants, already in jobs, withdrew their applications as they began to doubt that they would be better off economically at the end of SYO training. Although there has been no overall shortage of trainees, the failure to set a salary scale above the teacher level is seen as a drawback to recruitment. After the experimental five-year period, the SYO admission requirements, including the nonteaching experience and the training course, will be evaluated (806; 805).

Among the inputs to the official information services are those made by nonofficial sources, such as pupils, parents, employers, and trade unions. These groups may be satisfied by advisory participation and seek no independent action, but they often desire an independent role. There is a case for giving young people a more active role in the production and dissemination of information than they generally have had. This would go beyond the representation of student organizations found in Sweden's SYO structure and would actually encourage independent publications or services by peer groups, concentrating on subjects within the experience of young people still in education. Peer information groups on social and sexual conduct have been springing up and similar efforts are possible in regard to work, based on the work experiences of recent leavers and graduates (942, 24; 712, 11).

Usually viewed as an audience for the intermediary services, parents may also be active in providing information. French parents, who are organized beyond the usual Parent-Teacher Association, sponsor many active national and local organizations. One of these private groups, Parental Interservice, is staffed by professional counselors who answer questions and assist parents on matters concerning educational laws, courses, institutions, attendance provisions, and like matters (243). Parents also may be used as speakers schools to describe their jobs, as guides for young people in work visits, and in similar information-giving roles.

Many employers think of the information process as a one-way street; the educational institutions are responsible for delivering fully informed young people to the labor market, but employers have no obligations to provide information or to know about educational-training opportunities. A report on a talk given by a representative of the Confederation of British Industry makes points which are heard also in other countries.

> Industry did not always describe its jobs very well, and its recruitment literature was not good enough. It was not yet efficient at forecasting its manpower needs in advance; and probably misused some of the talent which it recruited (412, 43).

The more developed a country's transition services and the more involved its employers, the more likely it is that employers will play an active and positive role in shaping the information system on the work world for young people still at school. If employers voluntarily provide complete occupational information, including written job descriptions, instead of responding grudgingly to requests, some of the information errors among youth of which they complain might not exist. Employers also can make a contribution to the information process by opening their premises to visits and work experience programs for pupils and to study programs for teachers, counselors, placement officers, and others. The potential for employer participation in official policy making bodies is suggested by the report of varied and extensive activities given by a Swedish Employers' Confederation official in charge of education and training (331, 27-32). Some of the best contributions by employers come not from individual firms, but from employer organizations (116; 435).

RESOURCES

A key issue is how much space, time, equipment, money, and staff should be devoted to official information services. Practitioners and observers alike repeatedly report an insufficiency of all ingredients (288, 20-4; 673, 12-3; 840, 6-7, 570-81; 94, 84-9; 654, 5, 11; 895, 1968, 115). Rare indeed is the declaration that an excess of resources is already assigned. Yet, as Thal-Larsen observed about the San Francisco Bay Area schools:

> During our survey of school counseling departments, we were sometimes almost as struck by what seemed a less-than-optimal utilization of the resources available to these units as we were aware of the general shortage of support they received for their work. (840, 37)

While the fullest use of existing resources may not be made, it still is likely that added facilities, funds, and personnel will be requested under all circumstances. What remains a virtually unresearched subject is the marginal impact of increments in resources on the efficacy of the information services and the well-being of the consumers. This is part of the broader problem of evaluation to which we now turn.

EXAMINATION STUDIES

If society devotes resources to deliverate efforts to increase the knowledge young people have about the world of work, there is a natural inclination to ask whether these efforts produce greater knowledge and, as a direct consequence, other benefits to the individual and society which would not exist in the absence of the induced knowledge (956). The desire to evaluate the official information programs will exist even if there is full acceptance of the principle that in a democracy it is a duty of government to provide such information, whatever use is made of it, as Stern asserts (766, 3-4). Negative evaluations do not automatically mean that the idea of induced information is itself invalid. Evaluation efforts, properly conducted, can reveal poorly conceived or executed programs and lead to improved procedures.

Hoever, it is difficult to draw meaningful and consistent conclusions from existing evaluation studies. If learning and knowledge are conceived as integrative functions, specific information tests may be inappropriate because they do not capture the entire contribution of the information services to young people. Significant differences exist between instruction in an academic subject and instruction about the world of work. It can reasonably be assumed that young people entering, for example, an advanced mathematics class know little or nothing about the subject they are to study and that what they learn will be almost entirely the result of classroom work and assignments. They are willing to accept their instructors as authorities, and the latter agree with their colleagues on the content of the course, even if teaching methods differ somewhat. It is easy to determine by an examination how much students have learned, and learning tends to be an end in itself, since the course does not have to justify itself by a measurement of its impact on the later lives of the students.

In contrast, an information program about the world of work addresses an audience which has unconsciously absorbed values, points of view, information, and misinformation on the subject before the formal instruction. Several studies of the information activity confirm the existence of a counterculture of resistant or unresponsive people who "distort the information they are given or do not take in what they do not want to hear, and.../are/ attracted or repelled by features of jobs and job images of which they are unaware" (164, 6; 105, 68-72; 576g; 333, 68; 719; 720). And there are those who "don't even want adults to tell them what the options are; they want to find out for themselves" (578g). Nor are the adult authorities in agreement about the content or purposes of the instruction. In turn this leads to differences about the timing and content of tests of the induced knowledge, superimposed in other ways. Finally, the information programs are asked to justify themselves in terms of their influence on longer-run outcomes which are difficult to define and measure.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that resort to less stringent evaluation procedures characterizes some of the discussion. The British Schools Council Careers Education and Guidance Project team has decided that the best they can hope for by way of assessment of the value of their new information materials is to watch its effects on "pupil participation and development," and judge its practicality for use within and outside of the classroom (97, Autumn 1972, 46). Often, the opinions of the consumers, disseminators, and experts substitute for controlled research on programs. But the views of young people may reveal more about young people themselves than about the orientation and information activities available to them, and it is difficult for pupils to separate one transition service from another or to distinguish ordinary school activities from the special services. Still, what do these consumers say?

A local Canadian study reported that the Occupations and Work course had made little or no impression on early school-leavers most of whom could not recall having taken it a few years later (333, 68). Over one½third of American high school seniors in a national survey in 1966 reported that the kind of information they wanted and needed was not readily available in their schools; rural schools were particularly deficient (94, 56). Two-thirds of the young people in Ohio who took an experimental manpower economics course did not feel it had influenced their behavior,experience, or success (160, 81). Work visits and "a carefully prepared course with all available information" received high marks from American high school students in a 1973 poll of their preferred method of receiving career assistance at school. The same group, rating the methods of disseminating occupational information actually in use in their schools, gave first place to career file or occupational library and lower ratings to TV or film series and microfilm readers, including VIEW (Vocational Information for Education and Work) (673, 3a, 9a). In a more limited investigation, Thal-Larsen and Parrish discovered that students preferred direct contact with work situations as an information method above all other methods, and that they rated slides, film strips, movies, and television at the bottom of the scale and lower than books and pamphlets (841, 35-7).

A small-scale British survey ranked books and pamphlets as the least valuable method of dispensing information and showed that only half of the young people who had access to a full-time careers teacher found this source useful (278, 134; 97, vol. 26, no. 2, 37). In a West German survey of pupil opinion, a low valuation was placed on careers lessons and practical orientation courses as aids to career choice (214j, 14-7). According to unpublished results of an ONISEP inquiry among 1500 new upper secondary school graduates (baccalaureate degree) seeking opinions of an ONISEP brochure, After the BAC, only 15 percent thought it aided their choice of a career. Among potential entrants to German higher education in Northrhine-Westphalia in 1969, 60 percent could not make up their minds about a choice of studies or career even after group and individual information-advice sessions (214e, 1-2), Japanese youth at all educational levels felt insufficiently informed about their educational and occupational options, attributing the inadequacy to the education-based services (432, 61-9).

A Swedish survey undertaken before the SYO program was instituted indicated that a large majority of upper secondary students in the three-year course (the most usual route to university) believed that they had been given inadequate information about the possibilities and characteristics of the various educational and work possibilities open to them (192, 30-1, 33). On the other hand, two later Swedish inquiries, one in ninth grade and an exhaustive one in 11th grade, obtained mostly favorable opinions of the SYO program of educational-occupational information and the various media in use; one group actually suggested that a larger number of SYO lectures should be given than they had recommended before they took the course (797, 1-10; 800).

The survey of 11th graders threw light on the immediate influence of an information program on career aims. Identical questions on career decisions, asked before and after pupils took the SYO program of educational-occupational information, reveal that the undecided group was reduced. The proportion saying they were undecided about pursuing additional education also declined after the course, as did uncertainty about the type of course and the chances of qualifying for it. Of course, the passage of time is in itself a factor in the reduction of uncertainty. At another point, the pupils were asked directly whether the SYO information program had influenced their decision on what to do after school. Some 46 percent said "not at all" and 11 percent did not answer, leaving a minority to acknowledge varying degrees of help. Answers to other questions reveal the same pattern, yielding no overall evidence that the information program had been very influential (800, 33-5, 37, 40-5, 48-52, 54-61, 64-9).

On the usefulness of work visits, a poll of Swedish pupils (15 to 16 years old) and their teacher-counselors reveals a high opinion of the three study visits to work places in eighth grade as sources of occupational information and as an aid in choosing the work experience location for the ninth grade (5; 6). Work experience earned the approval of nearly all who took part in local British projects and they judged it an aid to decisionmaking on careers (411; 14; 98, 32). But another British inquiry, conducted some years after the event, which asked about a short period of work experience for sixth-form pupils in inner London schools revealed that work experience had not been useful to the choice of a career, although a majority of the respondents nevertheless endorsed this type of activity (27). Another piece of British research concluded that career orientation and choice among chemistry and electrical engineering students were hardly affected by sandwich courses (a mix of work and study) instead of full time study (142).

Turning to a more general measure of consumer opinion, the views of young people on the value of the official information sources can be compared with their appraisal of other sources of information. A comprehensive Swedish opinion survey in 1972-73 among upper secondary school pupils (17 to 18 years old), divided into a control and an experimental group, asked whom they consulted first when they wanted educational-occupational information. Both before and after the experimental group was given a program of educational-occupational orientation at school, a resounding 91 percent chose official sources; at both times only 9 percent designated sources other than school or Labor Market Administration personnel. The effect of the SYO course was almost double the proportion (34 percent to 62 percent) selecting the SYO consultant as first choice, while decreasing the proportion seeking information from teachers or headmasters or the local employment service office. The control group also indicated almost complete reliance on the official sources for educational information, with the SYO consultant in second place after such sources as universities and other institutions of higher education. The control group gave credit to the mass media for information on the labor market situation of graduates from higher education, but still listed official sources in first place, divided evenly between their own school and other educational institutions (800, 37, 69, 70). In an earlier survey among third-year students in the Swedish secondary school, the student rating of information sources gave first place to official information brochures, followed by friends and guidance officers. Teachers were held least useful (192, 29).

These results from a country with a comprehensive and strong information program were not matched in countries with less pervasive or developed programs. But even among the latter, differences occurred. Recent British studies, both on a national and local level, suggest that pupils, especially the early leavers, gave the official sources relatively more credit for providing significant occupational information than was true in the United States. As several studies indicated, American youth have looked to parents and friends rather than to teachers and counselors for information (161, 129; 841; 843, Table 9.12; 673, 5a; 7a, 15; 517; 501, Table IV: 5; 332, 20-1).

A final measure of consumer satisfaction with information services is obtained by asking how well-informed young people feel. A certain overlap with opinions about the effectiveness of guidance is inevitable in judgments on information and both necessarily are largely subjective. In particular, unambitious or resigned pupils may be satisfied with very little information (576q). If a high proportion of young people respond that they have obtained little or none of the information they need, by implication they would give a low rating to the official information programs. If most young people are satisfied with the amount of information they possess or believe they possess, further official efforts may be counterindicated, regardless of the opinions of the significant adults.

Several American studies indicate that a majority of young people were not satisfied that they possessed enough information about the occupational world, whatever its source (673, 5a; 674, 3a; 841, 35-6; 670, Table 4; 279, 145-6). The 1973 national survey of American high school youth concluded:

> If we were speaking of physical development rather than career development, we would describe American youth as hungry, undernourished, and physically retarded. (670, 33).

A Canadian questionnaire, answered in 1965 by a large and representative sample of high school students across the country, reveals that about half of the young people in grades eight through 13 (mostly grades nine through 12) felt very well or quite well informed about the different kind of jobs they could get to make a good choice about their future career. The percentage of the satisfied rose with each grade, varied from province to province, and was higher for girls than boys from the 10th grade on (80, 42-4, Tables 115, 116). An Australian survey among school-leavers showed 38 percent dissatisfied with their knowledge of career opportunities and their own potential (23, para. 2.140).

In a local study in Great Britain in 1966, Maizels found that a fourth of the boys and 31 percent of the girls "felt that they had obtained most of the information they required, while as many as one-third of the boys and over two fifths of the girls felt that they had discovered little or no information" (510, 106). Other British studies give similar results (481; 97, vol. 28, no. 1.5). A Swedish inquiry in 1973 into the effectiveness of information brochures about higher education shows that almost all students thought that they had enough information about higher educational opportunities and about 85 percent thought they knew enough about the labor market prospects of higher education graduates (800, 67-71). It requires further analysis to determine whether the amount and quality of official activity is related to the degree of satisfaction youth display.

Another obvious evaluator of information activities is the expert or disseminator whose close observation or participation encourages the passing of judgments. To the extent that such people tend to rate programs on a scale of adequacy whose standards are not explicit, these evaluations are difficult to interpret and of little use for international comparisons of program effectiveness. Available statements confirm what was already well established, namely, that dissatisfaction with performance is endemic to the transition services and that proposals for more and better services are universal. Some of the views are revealing as to the state of the art in a particular country. Teachers of occupational information in Los Angeles high schools largely attended by Blacks and Chicanos rated these 10th grade classes low in effectiveness in conveying useful career and labor market market information (86, 62). After a painstaking investigation of schools and junior colleges in the San Francisco Bay Area, Thal-Larsen concluded that over the decade of the 1960s, the schools, especially the public high schools, had made little progress in "better preparing their students for the realities of the labor market (840, 26-7).

Formal evaluations are concerned, in the first instance, with how deliberate instruction about the world of work effects levels of knowledge. As chapter 4 has indicated, many analysts ignore the factor of official information services in accounting for youth's knowledge of the world of work. Chapter 4 also has suggested the difficulties inherent in testing this type of knowledge or drawing conclusions from the results, all of which apply also to induced information. Nevertheless, many attempts have been made to judge the effects of information services, either by the use of control and experimental groups or by before-and-after tests.

Summarizing research, mostly in the United States, on the teaching of occupational information in the secondary schools, Hayes and Hopson reported that courses increased the ability of students to answer questions about jobs anywhere from 0 to 217 percent (361, ch. 11; 395). The periodic reviews of American research on the teaching of occupations predominantly confirmed the view that those who received occupational information services have had higher test scores than those who did not, in the short run at least (392; 657; 750; 433). In a longitudinal follow-up study on a small sample of junior high school pupils in Ohio, Darcy and colleagues discovered that the short-run knowledge advantages which the experimental group had after taking a world of work course eroded during the high school years and that eight months after graduation the knowledge levels of the experimental and control groups did not differ significantly (160, ch. 5).

Two technically sophisticated attempts have been made to measure directly the impact of official activities on information scores, based on the Ohio State National Longitudinal survey which gave brief and limited occupational information tests to youth aged 14 to 24 in 1966. For the variable representing the official information activity, the multivariate analysis used the number of counselors per hundred students in each high school. In regard to the males, the authors found:

> The intensity of vocational guidance in high school appears to be unrelated to scores on the occupational information test for students and nonstudents alike....It does point rather strongly to the conclusion that if counseling makes a contribution, it is not by enhancing to any perceptible degree the general understanding students have of the world of work (646, 23).

A similar result was reported for the females (561, 12). However, before the conclusion can be accepted that official information activities are ineffective, questions must be raised about the adequacy of the "ratio of counselors to pupils" as a measure of school information activity. Given the reports on how few contacts American high school students have with counselors and how little of the counselors' time is devoted to occupational matters, this measure seems totally inadequate (672, 9; 670, 10-11; 94-31-51; 942, 7, 12-4; 847, 137-50). Yet no other available measure suggests itself. Perhaps the United States, with its meager development of official information activities, is not a suitable place for such an analysis at present.

Sweden has been in a much better position to assess the impact of its official information activities since this area has been relatively highly developed, especially through the new SYO program. Using before-and-after tests of information, a recent official inquiry was able to assess the impact of its program on the proportion of correct answers achieved by a national sample of upper secondary school pupils who were concluding their two-year courses in 11 separate "lines" or majors. Before the specific information program began in November, and after it had ended in May-June, the same 19 questions were put to the pupils. Results were quite disappointing. In four of the six multiple choice questions, on knowledge of sources of occupational information, the "after" results were either no better of worse than the "before," and on only two questions did a majority of the pupils cite the correct answer. In the next 13 questions, a wide variety of information was tested on occupations, labor force, and educational opportunities. On six questions, the "after" results show the same or a lower proportion choosing the correct answers than in the "before" test. Of the seven questions where scores improved after the information course, only three showed a marked rise and only five of the 13 questions were answered correctly by more than half of the pupils. Another section of the "before" and "after" test posed specific information questions about their own manor field to four groups of pupils. Out of a total of 38 questions, 20 questions show a higher proportion of correct answers "after" than "before," and on 23 questions over half of the pupils had correct answers on the "after" test (800, 1-32, 53).

On the whole, the Swedish results do not generate much confidence in the capacity of the official information services to impart new information or correct earlier errors, although allowance must be made for possible imperfections in the program. There even is disturbing evidence that large numbers of pupils were confused by the information course, changing correct answers "before" to incorrect ones "after." This type of research effort in Sweden needs extension and replication elsewhere if we are to learn more about the effects of official information programs.

Still another test of the information program was tried on four groups of Swedish pupils who were completing three or four-year courses in the upper secondary school. After being exposed for the first time to a special television program giving background labor market information, the viewers were quizzed on seven factual points they should have absorbed. The proportion achieving correct answers was high. On two questions, all members of all four groups were correct and on another question, three groups had 100 percent scores. Only one question elicited incorrect answers from more than half the pupils and that was confined to two groups. It could be concluded that this TV program had conveyed into information effectively. A final test of 15 questions was put to the same kind of sample after they had been assigned reading in a number of brochures giving information on higher education opportunities and requirements. Out of the total of 15 questions, only two were answered correctly by more than half of the pupils. The highest scoring group, the natural science majors, had only four questions on which more than half the group answered correctly. It could be concluded that the brochures had been too difficult or had not been read thoroughly (800, 72-6).

As has been stated earlier, unfavorable results could be interpreted as a signal to extend and improve programs or as a justification for cutting back on this activity. There has been a need for further evaluation of official information programs and further refinement of the concepts underlying such evaluations. In the United States, the National Occupational Information Service has been investigating the effectiveness of the several state and local systems which have been subsidized, and the National Institute of Education also has sponsored further work in this area. The most common response to low information scores or evidence of lack of information has been a recommendation for increased information and guidance in the 19 questions were put to the pupils. Results were quite disappointing. In four of the six multiple choice questions, on knowledge of sources of occupational information, the "after" results were either no better or worse than the "before," and on only two questions did a majority of the pupils cite the correct answer. In the next 13 questions, a wide variety of information was tested on occupations, labor force, and educational opportunities. On six questions, the "after" results show the same or a lower proportion choosing the correct answers than in the "before" test. Of the seven questions where scores improved after the information course, only three showed a marked rise and only five of the 13 questions were answered correctly by more than half of the pupils. Another section of the "before" and "after" test posed specific information questions about their own major field to four groups of pupils. Out of a total of 38 questions, 20 questions show a higher proportion of correct answers "after" than "before," and on 23 questions over half of the pupils had correct answers on the "after" test (800, 1-32, 53).

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Evaluations have moved to a more controversial plane when the information services are judged by their contribution to such outcomes as decisionmaking ability, the quality of educational and occupational choices, and labor market success. Multiple dubious assumptions have underlain many of the studies purporting to deal with these issues; that deliberate instruction increases the amount of knowledge more than would otherwise occur, that a better stock of information will yield improved careers outcomes, that the several academic disciplines can agree on the content and standards for judging improved careers outcomes, that direct and durable effects can be attributed to world of work information acquired in school, and that the intervening variables which also affect longer-run career outcomes can be separated from information (161; 447; 448; 857; 956).

Despite the warnings, various attempts at assessment have been made, yielding no clear answers. Hoppock and others have cited carefully controlled experiments which showed that American high school courses in occupations improved both educational and occupational choices, but others disagreed (151; 152; 392; 750; 657; 182, 71; 161, 136-7, 146-9, 447, 5). A Canadian national study found:

> The number of activities carried out in the school for the purpose of diffusing educational and occupational information is positively associated among both boys and girls with the probability of their having formulated a career goal, and with the degree of vocational competence they exhibit. (81, 343)

Few efforts have been made to measure the impact of intensified information services on the disadvantaged, however defined. A Canadian study of high school students in 1965 investigated, among other things, the relation between official school information activities and career decisionmaking and drew some conclusions about disadvantaged groups:

> The diffusion of vocational information in the school appears to reduce the likelihood of indecision to a greater degree among students who rank low in mental ability and socioeconomic background. It also has a greater effect among French-speaking than English-speaking boys, but not among girls.... disadvantaged students can benefit considerably from being placed in situations that offer opportunities and advantages to which they have not been previously exposed. Since because of their background they are far from the saturation point, this exposure apparently has a considerable impact on their career goals and intentions. (81, 343, 396)

In relating information services to labor market outcomes, it has been hypothesized that those who are given such services will have more occupational information and score higher in occupational information tests and, as a consequence, will obtain better jobs have higher earnings, experience less job turnover, suffer less unemployment, and feel greater job satisfaction than less well-informed young people who are similar in all other respects. Studies reported by Hoppock and associates and by others show, for the most part, that those who took career courses had better labor market outcomes than others in the short and long run (151; 152; 361, ch. 11; 161, 128-9, 133-7, 140-1, 145; 645). But Darcy found that the manpower economics course taught in eighth grade, covering "world-of-work understanding, attitudes, education-related and employment-related behavior," showed little relation to earnings eight months after graduation from high school. Membership in a trade union was a significant factor in higher wages (160, ch. 6, 8). But the factors leading to youth membership in trade unions require further exploration.

An experiment in career education with high school dropouts and others who were several years behind most American students in reading and mathematics achievement established that the group entered the Career Intern Program (CIP) with little factual information about careers. After 10 weeks in the program, the group was reported to have acquired substantial and accurate information about the careers they had selected for investigation. A significant relationship appeared between reading ability and the possession of career information, as measured by the test. However, the test of information and the curriculum developed to teach career information were judged to be mismatched and results from a substitute test must be awaited (866, vi, vii, 94, 102-3, 110-5, 126-32).

Among the graduates of the CIP up to June 1974, the actual activities were a far cry from the ambitious aims they had while at school. These early outcomes cast some doubt on official information programs for disadvantaged youth which accept levels of aspiration which are too high in terms of the community's job structure and allocation system. A more realistic approach was taken by Operation Young Adults in Rochester, New York. Having discovered that these dropouts aged 16 to 20 were making "incredible" job choices and that "students who could barely read were choosing careers that required years of college training, while those who had chosen fairly realistic jobs were expecting salaries that were ridiculously high," this program brought representatives of twenty skilled occupations into the school and exerted a moderating effect (703, 233).

Holding a paid job during the school years clearly should contribute to information about the work world, although this may not be its main or only impact. The effects of part-time or vacation work on subsequent full-time employment experience have been discussed, but rarely evaluated statistically (102; 674, 3a; 257, 47-50; 311, 175). On survey which attempted a measure was the University of Michigan's longitudinal study of young males. The report indicated that

> those who did work during school did not secure better jobs after high school. However, amount of part-time work during high school was associated with whether or not an individual secured any employment after leaving school. Those who never worked part-time showed a 19 percent unemployment rate after high school, while those who worked more or less continuously during high school later showed an unemployment rate of only five percent. (437, 13)

The 1967 Ohio State University longitudinal study of young men aged 15 to 18 also reported that those who held jobs while at school during the 1966 survey period and were out of school in 1967 had lower unemployment rates than their schoolmates who were not in the labor force at the time of the 1966 survey (644, II, 19, 22). However, this latter group consisted essentially of high school dropouts, a minority of the age group, and its recorded experience on two survey dates was not necessarily as representative as that in the University of Michigan sample.

It is clear that analysis of the independent effects of the official information services for youth are in their infancy in all countries, and that controlled experiments are difficult to implement. Even while there is uncertainty about the marginal contribution of this transition service, constant efforts are devoted to change, increase, and improve the form, content, organization, and delivery of information services and to offer differentiated services according to need. At the same time there is promise, as Datta writes, that assessment procedures will also be improved "so that documentation can catch up with the enthusiasm for improving occupational information" (161, 155). Many of the issues that affect information apply equally to guidance and counseling, to which chapter 6 is devoted.

CHAPTER 6. GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

The multifarious activities discussed earlier under the rubric of "orientation and information" suggest that information and guidance are intimately interconnected, but are not and cannot be wholly coextensive spheres. A separate domain for each does exist, notwithstanding that many theorists and practitioners desire and urge a symbiotic relationship. Because the overlap is so marked, the present chapter stresses aspects of guidance and counseling which are not covered in the two preceding chapters. Although the emphasis here is on guidance and counseling for young people making the transition from educational institutions, provision for youth leaving the armed forces and other institutions is equally relevant.

At the outset it should be stated that guidance and counseling are here limited to educational-occupational matters, especially education as preparation for work and opportunities in paid employment. Other forms of guidance and counseling are excluded. In this context educational guidance consist of two elements: pointing out the occupational implications of educational choices and relating the requirements of job to educational programs. Occupational guidance and counseling help people to discover their interests, aptitudes, competences, values, and needs and relate these to the range of options available in job and career choices and development.

Such a delimitation arouses opposition from many experts in guidance and counseling, as well as from the American career education movement. According to some theories of career development, all aspects of human development are so intertwined that young people require personal, social, educational and occupational counseling from a single, integrated source. Watts suggests additional reasons. Separation of counseling areas is unwise because nonoccupational roles will occupy a growing share of the lifetime of young people, furnishing "an increasingly important source of satisfaction and identity," ans because many jobs are inherently dull and unlikely to improve. Moreover, "many students, particularly girls, are unlikely to have any interest in careers education unless it is defined broadly" (920, 36-7). However, it can be argued that, since work is likely to remain a primary activity, it is possible to conduct educational-occupational guidance with an emphasis on the potential for improving the work environment. And certainly the recent emphasis in counseling in many lands has been to try to erase the distinction between girls and boys and to widen the educational and occupational horizons of girls (923; 174; 31; 526; 901).

The American career education movement appears to support the all-inclusive concept of counseling on definitional grounds. In their lexicon, "work" includes a variety of unpaid activities, and "career" encompasses both the work and nonwork roles. However, the career educationists would change and somewhat diminish the role of the school counselor, so that career education poses a challenge to the scope of counseling which goes beyond the definitional aspect under discussion. For example, Hoyt, the director of the Office of Career Education in the U.S. Office of Education, has recently asked: "Why should career guidance be considered as a unique function of professional counselors? In other places he has called for a diffusion of counseling functions among classroom teachers, with the counselor serving as a coordinator (399; 400, 152-6).

In part, the case for discussing education-occupational counseling separately from other kinds of counseling rests on the fact that many countries continue to make the distinction. The Japanese Ministry of Education states that pupil guidance includes "educational, personal, social, moral, vocational and health guidance among others and is usually provided for each of these areas separately" (425, 78). These separations also are justified by the importance of education in determining work roles, the significance of paid work in human activity, and the extent to which adult lives still are devoted to jobs (264, 5). Young people also make distinctions among the types of counseling and many youth in American polls perceive their need for guidance on career plans as a first or high priority, rating very low the need for official assistance on personal, social, or health problems (670, 9; 94, 24; 672, 19a; 674, 3, 5a).

To assert the value of distinct kinds of counseling services and specialists for each area is not to deny the utility of theorizing about the interrelatedness of all aspects of the development of young people. Nor does it preclude the training of specialist practitioners to recognize and refer those young people who need other types of counseling. Distinctions among counseling specialties do not prevent various types of counselors from having adjacent offices so that they can join in team activities and present a comprehensive service to consumers. In the complexity of the current world, it is too much to expect a single individual to be truly competent in all of the aspects of counseling; it may even be desirable to develop three separate types of counselor for career guidance--one to handle straightforward educational counseling, one for education and training in relation to occupations, and one for occupations and careers.

The title of the present chapter appears to assume a distinction between guidance and counseling. But it has been chosen not out of any conviction about the existence of such a distinction, but rather in deference to common usage and a reluctance to exclude one or the other term. Those authorities who make a point of distinguishing between guidance and counseling rarely agree with one another and often are inconsistent in their usage throughout their own works. Most writers seem to employ the terms interchangeably.

Reacting to criticism, the International Labor Office substituted "employing counseling" for "vocational guidance" in 1949, but the latter has come back into use as the umbrella term (414, 13-4). The official translation of "Berufsberatung" in West Germany now is "vocational counseling," replacing the earlier "vocational guidance." "Career guidance" is a term gaining increasing favor in the United States. A new journal in the field, The British Journal of Guidance and Counseling, hints in its first editorial that there are real differences between guidance and counseling, but these are not explicated either for theory or practice. The American job category of "guidance counselor" introduces a final confusion because guidance appears to be a subject-on which counseling is offered. To dwell on these semantic issues is not entirely frivolous since discussions and debates on nomenclature, terminology, and definitions prevade the writings of the academic experts who have created a sizeable and influential literature on guidance and counseling.

Our present concern is not so much with theories about career development as with their impact on the practical system of educational and occupational guidance and counseling prevailing in various countries. And the actual systems in turn are significant as they affect the provision of a comprehensive system of public services in the transition from school to work. There are indeed differences among countries in the prevailing theory, practices, organizational structures, staffing patterns, and education and training of practitioners of guidance and counseling; these cross-national differences seem to exceed disagreement within countries on the same issues.

However, in recent years a convergence of views across nations is discernible in some respects, and in time many of the differences in practice and structure may be reduced. More significant is the yawning gap between theory and practice virtually everywhere, and nowhere more visible than in the United States where theory is most highly developed and debated (632; 547; 548; 190; 841, 13-31). Currently, counseling practice in most countries is so hobbled by limitations of personnel, time, and resources that variations among nations in theory and structure are overshadowed by shared feelings about the inadequacy of daily practice. An overriding issue affecting enthusiasm for guidance and counseling is the uncertainty about the potential of this activity to benefit individuals, given the social constraints under which it operates. There also are doubts about the possibilities of conducting meaningful evaluations of counseling and guidance.

DEVELOPMENT OF GUIDANCE

In origins the vocational guidance movements of many advanced industrial nations were quite similar. The timing, antecedent causes, and goals were much the same from one country to another. Industrialization, urbanization, social problems, and social reform movements in the decades before World War I stimulated the first efforts. A growing interest in providing young people with on or off-the-job training through apprenticeship or vocational education repeatedly appeared as a reason to promote vocational guidance. From experimental and industrial psychology, many of the vocational guidance movements accepted psychometric measurement and Taylorism. The theoretical concepts underlying early movements resembled one another in their concentration on the young school leavers, their acceptance of occupational choice as a specific decision at a particular time and as a once-and-for-all matter. They leaned toward the trait-and-factor or matching approach to people and jobs. In keeping with the views of the times, guidance was heavily biased toward males (547; 548; 82; 764; 960, 164, 9-14; 504; 465; 905; 431, 28-9; 234; 239; 212, 4-5).

When the local and spotty vocational guidance efforts in individual countries began to take national shape, mostly in the 1920s, varied decisions were made about the relationship of guidance to government authority. Germany decided that vocational guidance should be a governmental monopoly. France and Belgium allowed private agencies but over the years have tended to absorb them into a governmental structure. In the Netherlands, devoted to pluralism, public vocational guidance was supplemented by private fee-charging agencies, regulated and subsidized by government. Britain and the United States permitted private guidance agencies to operate alongside the public services, though without subsidies in most cases.

A second difference has concerned the responsible agency of government in the guidance and counseling of young people below univeristy level. As chapter 3 indicated, the entire range of possibilities has been represented. Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Norway initially tended to place responsibility on the labor market organization, usually the public employment service. Britain's mixed system combined the Ministry of Labour (now Department of Employment) at the national level with the local education authorities. Both Belgium and France relied on their Ministries of Education which created nationwide organizations for guidance with regional and local offices set apart from individual schools. In the United States the dependence chiefly on school districts or individual schools presented the most decentralized model. It was not until 1938 that the U. S. Office of Education established a separate division for guidance. After its creation in the 1930s, the U.S. Employment Service's role was generally small, irregular in coverage, and variable over time. An American attending the Fourth International Conference on Vocational Guidance in 1966 noted that, while the United States was represented by secondary school and college counselors, counselor educators, and only two representatives of the Office of Education, the other countries, mostly European, were represented by officials of various central government agencies, chiefly those concerned with labor market and social welfare policy (650, 287-8).

These organizational choices about guidance and counseling grew out of varying traditions and beliefs in the several countries, but they also led to divergent policies and practices. Although the gulf was not fully revealed until after World War II when the United States displayed a flowering of theory and the federal government financed the training of substantial numbers of school counselors, differences had emerged even earlier between the education-based and the employment-based guidance services for young people. The situation as it existed in the 1950s and 1960s in most places illustrated both the gaps between the two approaches and the weaknesses peculiar to each (783; 787; 455; 637; 689).

One of the central problems, widely acknowledged, was the tendency of the education-based services to stress educational and psychological counseling of the young person and to neglect "the world of work to which he will have to adjust," as Avent, a British expert with wide contacts in the United States, described American counseling in 1965 (33, 101). A Japanese commission studying the reform of the educational system found fault with school-based guidance because it assessed pupils too exclusively on their academic performance and capacity for further study, overlooking "the whole personality of the pupil and all his various aptitudes" (423, 142). This was a familiar rebuke to schools elsewhere as well. Avent also was critical of Britons for painting "a glorious picture of the variety of ways of earning a living without helping the student sufficiently to assess his strengths and weaknesses in relation to the demands of occupations" (33, 101). This complaint was valid for other countries also and was reinforced by another criticism, namely, that guidance in regard to remaining in education was neglected in many countries while all attention focused on the transition from school to work.

The countries which emphasized guidance directed towards job placement were faulted for not providing client-centered counseling. Instead their agencies offered directive guidance which might be "little more than kindly and paternalistic interviewing concluded with firm advice, even exhortation" (84, Jan. 1973, 2). Accepting the provision of last minute guidance before leaving school as a viable method, they conceived of occupational choice as a once-and-for-all action. Criticism of these views developed not only in the countries where the emphasis was on vocational maturity, personal development, and thereapeutic approaches, but also within the occupationally-oriented countries.

Despite the persistence of real differences among the countries, as of 1976 it is possible to point to a significant narrowing of the gap on some major issues (128, 1971, 78-100; 418, 117-9; 587; 140). On the whole, there has been more acceptance of American theories and views abroad than the other way around. Also greater change has occurred in rhetoric than in practice, but even the latter shows the influence of American books and visiting professors. The spread of American ideas about counseling is reflected in the recent French discovery of Rogers in the couse of establishing a vocational guidance service in the expanded employment service (ANPE) (605, 29); in the Swedish requirement that candidates for counselor training must be able to read English because so many of the reading assignments in counseling are by American writers *805, 6); and in the wide influence in Britain of American thought on counseling and guidance (232, 20; 32, intro.; 925; 337; 478). In various countries recent statements of the aims of counseling or guidance reflect American impact in their stress on vocational maturity, self-awareness, and cultivation of planning and decisionmaking skills (830, 3; 829, 19; 432, 63; 617, 42-3; 860).

The experts frequently declare that occupational guidance is needed throughout life and that "career development" is a more useful term than "occupational choice." Nondirective, client-centered counseling, active participation by clients, greater emphasis on the psychological needs and values of individuals and less on the trait-and-factor matching process, an earlier start to counseling, more attention to older youth who formerly were considered able to manage with placement help alone, and greater stress on the psychosocial aspects of work--these are among the leading imported ideas under discussion for improving guidance. Another line of approach suggests a more cautious use and interpretation of tests and assessment devices and reliance on the computer, group counseling, and other methods which give the counselor more time and support to perform the functions assigned by the theorists and planners. Increasingly, new counselors are selected from among university graduates and are required to have studied psychology and sociology. Professionalization has spread to counselors as their educational level has risen and they are not located solely in the employment service.

In countries with a long-standing labor market orientation, an important recent change has been partially influenced by American counseling ideas, but even more has been a reaction to the advent of prolonged education. New organizational forms have been created to reduce the responsibilities of the guidance personnel of the employment service toward young people still in educational institutions, substituting either a joint organization or personnel located in the school system or attached to it. More activities are located in the schools, especially counseling about the occupational implications of educational choices. Sweden's SYO and Germany's recent provision for educational guidance are adaptations to prolonged education, as are the growing number of careers teachers and counselors in Britain's schools, supplementing careers officers. Ireland's new joint arrangements also fit this pattern. Reversing this process, countries where prolonged education had been established earlier (Canada, Japan and France, for example) have injected greater labor market influence into a previously education-dominated situation. The United States is exceptional but not unique in its school-centered, local organization of counseling services and the subsidiary role of the employment service.

Many countries are also responding to three new imperatives. First, there is an increase in differentiated counseling services, matching the information services for particular subgroups of youth, as described in chapter 4. Second, radical and critical approaches to the society and particularly the educational and employment systems, respect for the youth counterculture, and revised attitudes toward work values are challenging the concepts and practices of counseling, which is urged to operate as a change agent in society. Third, the idea that youth should participate in the planning and administration of counseling services, while not widely accepted and implemented, is likely to spread.

For all the convergence which has been noted, some important disputes remain. It is alleged by some that an irreconcilable conflict exists between counseling for self-development and individual choice and counseling for the social objective of meeting labor market demands. Writing at the beginning of the 1970s, Super, who traveled widely as a recognized leader of American counseling theorists, has declared that "the conflict of the two philosophies seems more acute now than it was twenty years ago" (783, 71). Others agree (650; 495; 483; 920; 97, Winter 1971-72, 38-9).

This issue is considered here as it refers to both information and counseling, since the two are so intertwined. Watts and Herr have placed the controversy in a somewhat broader setting. Assuming that information and counseling approaches may either accept the status quo or foster change, they subdivide each of these approaches into "focussing on society" and "focussing on individuals," producing four approaches in all. Within the status quo rubric, they contrast the "social control approach" with the "nondirective approach," stating the position of those who see a definite conflict. In their view of the social control approach, not only are information and counseling services devoted to filling the existing vacancies and providing for further needs in the labor market without regard to the desires or abilities of individuals, but these services also assume that they have the right and capacity to make educational and occupational judgments about the ability of individuals. The nondirective approach is described as making "students aware of the full range of opportunities, and helping them to be more autonomous in choosing the alternatives suited to their needs and preferences." Watts and Herr recognize, however, that the nondirective approach "does not pay any attention to the question of whether society will be able to meet the individual expectations...or to the dysfunctional consequences both for the individual and society if it does not" (925).

In practice, many authorities hold that a reasonable reconciliation can be achieved between counseling for individual needs and desires and the requirements of the labor market. As a French official says, "it will always be necessary to adjust to a reality in which every choice is not possible" (605, 6). Since success and satisfaction for the individual are not independent of the opportunities and limitations of the labor market, intermediary and transition services which minimize the importance of this aspect may be as unsatisfactory as those which are guided only by the requirements of the labor market. Moreover, many people have quite limited abilities and aims in regard to occupations, and it is unrealistic to view the transition services as unlocking hidden desires or potential in all who seek assistance. To overemphasize the breadth of available choice may be as much a disservice as to make direct assignments to jobs without considering a few alternatives.

The Swedish intermediary and transition services are openly designed as "one of the means for channeling manpower resources into sectors with an expected future demand for labour and toward making people avoid sectors with declining demand for labour" (830, 2). Advocates claim that the Swedish system not only is compatible with realization of the desires and potential of individuals, but may even assist individuals better than do services which devote themselves exclusively to discovering individual talents and inclinations. It is argued that full information and counseling about actual job opportunities and trends is not directive, can increase the individual's freedom of action, and is consistent with counseling which develops self-awareness and decision-making skills. At the same time as individuals are assisted, it is said, labor market policy or national economic goals are furthered. This position seems markedly different from a Soviet enunciation that "pupils must acquire the character training which will lead them to choose their future occupation on the basis of ideological and social considerations tht pay due regard to the interests of society and the importance of socialised production" (475).

A quite different emphasis emerges in a Swedish statement:

> Better self knowledge and a greater knowledge of working life, educational opportunities and the labour market will put the individual in a better position to consider different alternatives and come to a rational decision. One may thus speak in terms of the labour market political effects of vocational guidance, both in a preventive sense and on a long-term basis. Misguided educational investments, unfinished studies and short-sighted vocational decisions can be avoided if at an early stage the individual is given a realistic view of current and anticipated labour market conditions. In this way more rational use can be made of the resources of society and the individual. (830, 2)

The Swedish position also stresses adherence to the I.L.O. recommendation that vocational guidance must be sought voluntarily and that the choice of occupation should be freely made; but it is noted that "the individual cannot enjoy an absolute free choice: both personal limitations and the restrictions imposed by educational and labour market factors have to be taken into account" (830, 2).

Two experienced British observers, who generally gave high marks to Sweden's information and guidance system, make a sophisticated statement on the issue, going beyond the rather doctrinaire pronouncements of most of the opposition. Rodger and Cavanagh of the University of London write:

> In Sweden, as anywhere else, it is perfectly possible, by selectivity in the presentation of information, to give more publicity to those occupations which need recruits than to those which do not; and, by drawing attention to the more or less attractive characteristics of an occupation, to influence people towards it or away from it. Moreover, it is possible for organizations, or individuals within them, to exercise their discretion in favour of undermanned occupations in many different ways. A committee deciding on priorities in the publication of pamphlets may accept the arguments of a member with some special interest. An official responsible for negotiations with the printers concerned may, on his own initiative, decide that something regarded by his colleagues as urgent will, after all, have to wait...We found no evidence of conscious bias in these matters. On the other hand, we had little doubt that bias existed, and that it was bound to exist...Having said this, let us make clear that we are not expressing disapproval of the way in which Sweden is using occupational information for guidance purposes...In our view, constraints are present, and their presence should be recognized and perhaps defended. (608, 7)

In France, the output of ONISEP is subject to review by a board on which civil servants, trade unionists, employers, and parents of school children are represented. They can and do participate in shaping material before it is published and actively criticize actual publications on the grounds of lack of objectivity or implied directiveness.

To some extent this controversy about direction and objectivity overlaps with another in the guidance field. It concerns the value of counseling which leads to the choice of one, rather than another, low-level occupation. This kind of "horizontal" assistance is rejected by those who see value only in counseling which expands horizons and increases options, especially for those whose background and education tends to place them at the bottom of the occupational structure. In opposition, others say that "one job for the dull child is not necessarily the same as the next," and "it is not sufficient to assume that any old job will do" (105, 94-5). At any given occupational level, even the lowest, important differences in jobs are said to exist. Accepting as inevitable society's differentiated educational outcomes and their relation to the occupational hierarchy, this school of thought maintains that counselors make a contribution even if they help the individual only to choose among bad jobs. Despite such differences of view, the dominant mood is one of increasing agreement and convergence. However, as is shown in the reviews of practice in individual countries which follow, it is premature to celebrate uniformity.

PRACTICE: COUNTRY PROFILES

Whatever the philosophy and techniques of counseling, the actual services available to young people depend on such prosaic factors as the quantity and quality of counselors and other resources. Most countries assign counseling duties primarily to those who have been specially trained and designated, but usually they have no monopoly on counseling. Others, in and out of the schools, participate in varying degrees, sometimes as specialists on a particular aspect of educational and occupation guidance. There is usually a line of demarcation between counselors who offer educational guidance and others who specialize in occupational matters. Counselors may or may not concentrate on particular age and educational groups. In a few countries, completely separate agencies offer identical and, to some extent, competing counseling services to young people.

Full-time counselors vary among and within countries in the amount of time they devote to counseling young people as opposed to other age groups and to counseling as opposed to providing the other transition services to youth--information, placement, induction, and follow-up; in their obligations and practice in regard to personal and social counseling; and in their administrative, disciplinary, and other school responsibilities. Some countries rely heavily or entirely on teacher-counselors who have dual functions and usually relatively little specialized training. Part-time counselors and other personnel offering counseling services differ in the quantity and quality of their counseling. Another variable is the amount of support and relief provided to counselors by noncounseling personnel, aides, paraprofessionals, and participating young people, as well as by computers, other self-counseling methods, and group counseling.

Recognizing these differences which impede cross-national comparisons, a rough effort may be made to indicate through country profiles how practice varies in certain respects--in the type of personnel who offer guidance and the way their time is distributed among counseling and other tasks, the ratio of personnel to the target groups, the proportion of young people actually receiving counseling services, and the amount and nature of these services.

SWEDEN

Sweden's educational system and counseling provisions have both undergone change during recent years (830, 3, 6, 10, 13-4, 18-22; 608, 3-10). The nine-year compulsory comprehensive school ends at age 16 for most pupils and provides general education. It is expected that almost all pubpils will continue in school until at least 18. In the new unified upper secondary school, more than 20 differentiated vocationally-oriented programs or "lines" are offered. Lasting two, three, or four years, each "line" potentially permits entrance to higher education. Choice of "line" in upper secondary school is of paramount concern to pupils in the ninth year of compulsory school and to counseling personnel, who are either part-time teacher-counselors or full-time SYO consultants. The latter devote themselves exclusively to the transition services, gradually replacing the part-time teacher-counselors. The ratio of pupils in the target group to counselors is 100:1 and is exceptionally low compared to the ratio in other countries. Even if all pupils in grades six through nine are counted, the ratio of 300:1 is still very favorable.

In interviews with pupils, their parents, and school personnel in 1973, a Swedish investigator revealed high aims and expectations for the SYO system (797, 1-10). While it is too early to judge the superiority of the SYO consultants over the prior system of teacher-counselors in the compulsory school, initial evidence suggests some improvement.

However, problems remain. In theory all ninth-graders are guided in course choices for the upper secondary school. Although a majority of 16-year-olds do proceed directly to upper secondary studies, about 25 percent, half of whom intend to return to school within a year or two, attempt to enter the labor market temporarily or permanently at 16 or earlier. Another 10 to 15 percent enter upper secondary school, but drop out soon, often because they were not accepted for the "line" of their first choice. Intensive SYO counseling activities have been undertaken for these groups on an experimental basis, as earlier chapters described.

The recent introduction of the SYO consultants in the upper secondary school provides specialized educational-occupational counselor for pupils who previously relied on subject or class teachers or the all-age vocational guidance service at the local employment service. Since the all-age guidance service of the E.S. has been understaffed in the face of a rising number of applicatns over the years (55,423 in 1962 to 117,691 in 1972), and since there has been an increasing proportion of adults in the total, the creation of a first-line counseling service in the upper secondary schools has a double rationale, relieving the E.S. of some clients and improving the service in schools for youth. Those who cannot be helped sufficiently by the SYO consultant still can be referred to the employment service.

Before the SYO system was installed widely, about 20,000 to 25,000 upper secondary school pupils, perhaps one-third of the target group, had received individual vocational guidance annually at the E.S. (830, 18-22). An inquiry in 1971 among a sample of graduating third-year pupils, many of whom were proceeding to higher education, found that over 88 percent of the boys and almost 94 percent of the girls had not consulted the employment service's vocational guidance counselors, an indication that the service was not valued highly for educational guidance (192, 28).

In the upper secondary schools, the ratio of SYO counselors to pupils is 550:1, but the goal is 350:1. Some evidence of the success of the SYO consultants, even in the initial years, can be gleaned from "before" and "after" reactions of pupils. Pupils queried in 1971, before SYO was introduced in schools, rated their teacher-counselors as less useful than printed brochures as sources of educational-occupational information, and girls rated the teacher-counselors lower than almost every other source under the heading "much information" (292, 29). However, another group questioned in 1973 showed very favorable reactions to the SYO consultants, especially after they had been given an educational-occupational information course by the SYO consultant. After the course, 62 percent said that the consultant would be their first choice for the person to consult about educational or occupational decisions, more than double the proportion choosing any other person and almost double the proportion making this selection before the course was given. As a result of the course, 4 percent fewer pupils believed that they needed personal guidance, but 79 percent still thought they required this service. Only half actually had received counseling, just over one-third had seen the SYO consultant once, and 18 percent had more than one interview (800, 37, 45).

At the higher education level, the deficiency of counseling services in part has resulted from the rapdi expansion of enrolments in the 1960s. In 1971 there was public complaint that the 20,000 full-time students at Uppsala University had only one part-time counselor (836, no. 8,3). The need for educational-occupational information and guidance has been met by establishing an educational guidance organization at each institution of higher education, under the central administration of the Office of the Chancellor of Swedish Universities; the latter also employs counselors who may be consulted in Stockholm. In addition, in each university town the Labor Market Administration maintains one vocational counselor, who usually spends one or more days a week on campus and cooperates closely with the educational counselors, not only on individual guidance but also on labor market developments. Together they plan the information to be given to groups through seminars, public debates, and other means. While official sources claim that a high proportion of university students also directly conslult the E.S. vocational guidance officers, in 1971-72 only 10 percent of university students were said to have had counseling from the over two hundred E.S. vocational guidance officers throughout Sweden (97, Winter 1971-72, 36).

Military conscripts are regarded as part of Swedish manpower resources. Therefore, the Labour Market Board, the National Board of Education, and the Personnel Division of the Defense Staff plan and distribute educational and occupational information and cooperate on educational and vocational guidance. Guidance to conscripts had been offered mainly during the enlistment period and just before demobilization, but in 1973 a recommendation was made that information and guidance activities should be continuous throughout military service. While many countries provide information and counseling for military personnel and maintain some connection with the civilian sources of information and guidance, Sweden is unusual in the formal arrangements for collaboration and the prominent position of the Labour Market Board.

Among the other youth groups singled out in Sweden as special targets for intensified vocational guidance are school dropouts; new entrants to the labor market who have had low academic achievement; unemployed youth, especially those who lack occupational skills or academic qualifications; the physically, mentally, or socially handicapped, including those in institutions; and immigrants. Swedish policy and practice are highly developed in singling out the vulnerable groups, centralizing and coordinating guidance services, and combining guidance with interventions which offer supportive and remedial social and manpower services, as well as activities which create additional educational and work opportunities. The limitations of guidance as a social change agent are clearly understood, although it is a stated aim of vocational guidance to "endeavor to counteract limitations on the choice of studies or occupation due to social, geographical, and economic conditions, sexual prejudice, and other inhibiting factors" (830, 3).

WEST GERMANY

There has been less change in the structure of German education than in most western European countries. The three distinct kinds of schools, which divide youngsters at 11 or 12, still predominate over the attempts to introduce comprehensive education or otherwise to modify the long-standing system. Pressures to alter the traditional guidance arrangements have arisen from increases in the proportion of young people who undertake a technical or academic upper secondary education and either go on to higher education or enter the labor market. Instead of the former concentration on occupational counseling for the 15- and 16-year old school-leavers who enter apprenticeships, a new need has been seen for counseling on educational choices. In addition, occupational counseling is required by young people who go from upper secondary education at 19 directly to work--a change from the earlier situation in which virtually all Gymnasien graduates proceeded to university--and also by the increased numbers attending, dropping out, stopping out, and obtaining degrees in higher education.

Although a cooperative arrangement has been established between the federal Ministry of Education and the state education ministers to facilitate educational counseling in the schools, the 11 individual states vary in their provision. The federal government holds a monopoly on occupational counseling and through the Federal Employment Institute offers a reasonably uniform service throughout the country. In 1973, the Employment Institute had in the budget 3,486 vocational counselor posts, of which 1,770 were in general counseling, 282 were to serve upper secondary and university students, 152 were for the handicapped, and 1,282 were in the special technical service. But not all the posts were filled, due to labor shortages, sick leave, and other causes (212). In an OECD review in German manpower policy, the examiners reported that the Employment Institute's counseling staff was unable to carry out its duties adequately because of an insufficient number of counselors on the job (616, 51-2). It is not clear whether the number would have been held to be adequate if all vacant posts had been filled.

The ratio of school leavers (15 to 16 year old) to budgeted general counselors was about 395:1 in 1973-74. The actual ratio was higher because of the unfilled posts, but in Germany, unlike other countries, individual occupational counseling is the only stipulated function of the general counselors, since the technical service deals with the production and distribution of information to individuals and groups. Still, the ratio is misleadingly low because the general counselors also serve pupils still in school, former school leavers, and a small number of people over 25. Only 59 percent of all new school leavers of 1973-74 sought individual guidance (210).

An investigation in depth indicates that the counselors believe that they initiate the vast majority of individual interviews, while the young people concerned give somewhat more credit for initiative to themselves, their mothers, and teachers (517). An important function is the selection of the apprenticeship field. Interviews are frequently attended by parents and may occur more than once. In 1973-74, over one-fourth of the counselors had more than one interview and almost 10 percent had three or more sessions. Of all who were counseled, over 85 percent were under 20 years of age (210). Thus, occupational counseling in Germany is very much for youth, although the service is nominally all-age.

For the graduating class of the Gymnasien in 1973-74, the ratio of budgeted counselors was 380:1, but the actual ratio was higher because university students also are included in the larger group and because some counselor posts were unfilled. In 1973-74, only 42 percent of the new Gymnasien graduates sought individual interviews which are likely to concern further education, the occupational implications of educational choices, and, for some, selection of occupations. Preparation for the individual interview is facilitated by a new teaching program called STEP which is available for those who attend secondary schools other than the Hauptschule, which is the compulsory school, generally ending at 15. The pupil completes the workbook which gives information, tests information, explores personal aptitudes and interests, relates preliminary occupational choices to the labor market situation, and develops a profilm which prepares the young person for a personal interview and gives the counselor advance information about the interviewee to supplement school reports. This is a useful and attractive method of economizing on scarce counselor time, and it may be a cheaper method than a computer, if the computer is used solely for this purpose.

The Employment Institute maintains its own psychological testing service and a medical service, and where recommended it provides additional information to the counselor. Over 100,000 youths had one or the other of these special services in 1973-74. In contrast to the full natioal documentation on the amount of occupational counseling up to the level of higher education, there is relatively little information about the amount of the educational and occupational counseling available and utilized in universities and other institutions of higher education.

Because of the high degree of centralization of occupational counseling for youth, research is relatively plentiful and sophisticated. There also is a fair amount of criticism of the practice and outcomes of counseling in the mass media (471; 472; 582). One of the interests of the analysts and reformers is to discourage authoritarian or directive advice, a carryover in Germany of an earlier era (518; 519). One indication of its survival, despite commitment to self-awareness and independent decisionmaking, is the following statement:

> Reacting to the fall in the number of apprenticeships on offer, the Federal Government and the Federal Institute of Labour increased their efforts to ensure that young people, having received individual counselling and detailed information on paper, make the correct choice of career. (130, 70)

Not only is a directive approach suggested by this statement, but also a lingering attachment to the notion that the choice of apprenticeship occupation should be a once-and-for-all commitment. This view is firmly contradicted by German research on occupational mobility (379; 380; 108; 109).

FRANCE

In the period before World War II when most youth left school by age 14, the Ministry of Education was made responsibile for administering a vocational guidance test to every young person under 17 who intended to enter employment or training. The system soon became a routine, perfunctory examination yielding a report which had to be presented to employers by youth, but was in no way binding on anyone. Although testing was compulsory, only a portion of youth was seen. There were other faults--inadequate staff, a concept of once-and-for-all choice, the provision of medical examinations only for those over 17, and excessive direction of young people to pre-apprenticeship and apprenticeship openings (415). These characteristics became unsuitable to the situation when compulsory education was extended to 16 and the majority of youth stayed in some form of education until 18. Rousselet, who has been closely connected with these youth services, particularly makes the point that the guidance law and service have not adjusted to prolonged education or taken into account the psychological harm to youth produced by repetitive, dull jobs (717).

The French system of educational guidance requires formal assessment of pupils even before their entrance to elementary school. The July 1975 education law provides for flexibility according to maturity and ability both in the age of starting first grade (5, 6, or 7 years old) and in progress through compulsory schooling which ends at 16. Moreover, the channeling of pupils into lower secondary education begins at 10 years for some, and program decisions with occupational consequences are made at 13 for many youngsters, although to a decreasing extent. Counselors attached to the Centres d'Information et d'Orientation (CIO) are supposed to advise on occupations as well as educational paths, but their strength has been in educational assessment and guidance. Increasingly, counselors are becoming informed about occupations and their relation to educational choices, a subject on which ONISEP provides them with very complete information. Counselors now concentrate on youth nearing the end of lower secondary education (15 to 16 years old) and through group and individual counseling sessions bring the choices to the attention of young people.

France has been weak in both the quantity and quality of its educational-occupational guidance. In 1974-75, for each CIO counselor there were 2,500 young people from elementary school through university; for pupils in the first cycle of education (to age 16), the ratio was 1,333:1, but it will be 1,000: 1 soon. In the latter scholls, counselors are supplemented by one careers teacher(part-time) per 600 pupils, one class teacher with definite guidance functions per 30 pupils, one head of school per 600 pupils, also with guidance functions, and one documentation specialist per 600 pupils, more for information than guidance. ONISEP, through its information function, is a key part of the system, but it is not engaged in counseling and its personnel are not part of the school staff. Coordination of this staff is up to the head of the school whose attitude toward guidance is crucial. These personnel are reinforced by several hundred vocational guidance officers in the National Employment Agency (ANPE) which serves all age groups. In 1968, over one-fifth of the clients seeking ANPE vocational guidance were enrolled in some form of educational institution (615, 97; 605).

An influential segment of French official opinion holds that the greatest need is for full, reliable, and objective information and that many young people require little or no individual or group counseling. In effect, they are saying that most individuals can achieve by themselves the self-awareness and decisionmaking powers which are considered teachable skills in American counseling theory. Partial support for the French position can be drawn from frequent reports in several countries that individual interviews are utilized for information rather than guidance.

JAPAN

Although compulsory education ends at 15, over 85 percent of Japanese graduates from the lower secondary school proceed to a relatively uniform upper secondary school which concludes at 18, and a substantial proportion of these continue into higher education. This circumstance plus the Japanese concern with obtaining entrance into preferred educational institutions, beginning with kindergarten, have made educational guidance both important and special, since all public and private educational institutions have social prestige rankings. In turn, the quality of job and firm which a new entrant will achieve is highly dependent on the particular schools attended; this is almost more important than the academic record itself.

Within the schools, homeroom teachers, subject teachers, and the principals have some guidance duties, backing up the part-time educational and vocational teacher-counselors who may head guidance departments. In 1969 there were 705 lower secondary pupils per part-time teacher-counselor, while at the upper secondary level the ratio was 1,400:1 (425, 77-8). Following a 1971 national survey of educational and vocational guidance, an effort has been made to reduce the teaching hours of the counselors and the question of establishing full-time counselors has been debated. The 1971 report showed a wide variation in guidance activities not only from one area to another but also from area to another but also from one school to another in the same district. Some schools accorded only one or two classroom hours a year to group activities which may have included information as well as guidance. Schools at the high end of the distribution allowed 15 to 16 hours a year, a meager provision compared with that made by other countries (432, 61-5).

The heavy reliance on ordinary teachers for guidance has been criticized on the ground of their lack of aptitude and the absence of special training for these teachers. University level training is sparse and incomplete in this area and counseling tends to be equated with psychotherapy. Unless the head of the school is supportive, the school's guidance effort may be weak, even if teachers are willing and able. Pupils reported that they felt confident about their knowledge of their own interests, academic abilities, and so forth, although about 60 percent said that their self-awareness was not developed through personnel at school. However, they felt a serious lack of school guidance about occupations which was not remedied by outside guidance. Homeroom teachers complained of the lack of time to conduct individual counseling, a reaction supported by the pupils who seemed to have little inclination to consult their teachers on educational and vocational problems (432, 61-5). In those schools, mostly junior high schools, where the employment service (PESO) participates directly in information, guidance, and placement activities, PESO conducts individual counseling on occupational choice for pupils entering the labor market and gives technical assistance to schools in the administration and evaluation of tests such as the General Apritude Test (GATB) and the Vocational Readiness Test (VRT). In the senior high schools, PESO gives the same assistance at the school's request (618, 50-1, 80).

Japanese counseling has been affected by national goals to some extent. Trends which are seen as inconsistent with the needs of the economy have been decried. One such trend is the high proportion of pupils going on to high school and, related to this, the preference of high school graduates for white collar jobs. In addition, youthful job changing is seen as a problem, even if the new jobs are superior. In the face of shortages of skilled blue collar workers and the preference of employers for young recruits as trainees, counselors are expected to make blue collar jobs seem more acceptable, to counter the public belief that increased amounts of education lead to better jobs, and to discourage job changing (432, 30-40; 889, 71).

At the higher education level, placement and counseling services have been part of student personnel services, organized separately by each institution. According to Hiroi, placement and job-related services have long been well-organized, but broader educational and occupational counseling is fairly recent and has often occurred as the placement offices expand their functions. In addition, an informal system exists whereby each professor has his own following of students for whose future the professor takes responsibility. This system is familiar elsewhere, but is highly developed in Japan, where, as Hiroi states: "Crude and eccentric as it may seem, the professor's guidance often proves to be far more effective than the systematic help given by the personnel experts in an administrative department" (432, 67).

In the late 1960s when the radical movement swept the Japanese universities, the number of students counsulting the official advisers declined markedly and several centers were closed. The reasons for the disaffection were: the amateur quality of the counseling on educational-occupational subjects by counselors trained as psychologists and other staff; the philosophical and political gulf between students and advisers; and the limitations on the students' educational and occupational options due to the nature and ranking of the particular university. As a consequence, counselors have devoted themselves mostly to personal problems of a psychological nature, while others have given assistance with financial aid, housing, on part-time jobs. Educational-occupational counseling is scarce, although placement offices are active and effective.

GREAT BRITAIN

The substitution in many parts of England and Wales of comprehensive schools for the differentiated schools--secondary modern, technical, and grammer--has changed the character of education up to age 16 or 18. But the residual of relatively early specialization in school subjects together with the marked prolongation of education since the 1960s have given great importance to a type of educational counseling which is related to occupational opportunities. This newer imperative has been joined to the established British commitment to vocational guidance and, especially, to job placement at all levels of education.

A growing interest in guidance and counseling in Great Britain, with strong cross-Atlantic influences, is indicated by the increased number of courses in higher education settings and the establishment of the National Institute for Careers Education and Counselling, jointly sponsored by The Hatfield Polytechnic and the Careers Research and Advisory Centre in Cambridge.

Responsibility for educational and careers counseling in schools has been divided among three main types of personnel--careers officers, careers teachers, and school counselors. But there are no clear or uniform demarcations of responsibility and great variation in practice exists from one local education authority to another. Careers teams are favored, but such arrangements, usually ad hoc in individual schools, completely lack the formal, national organization of Sweden's SYO. The present British structure is rife with opportunities for duplication, competition, and gaps in counseling services within both schools and LEAs.

The newest type of counseling personnel, still scarce in British schools, is the school counselor who may offer educational and occupational counseling along with personal and social guidance. Thus far, British experience with this new post suggests that occupational guidance is not one of the main concerns of the school counselor (845; 20; 507; 577; 165; 97, Autumn 1971, 38-40; 97, Winter 1972-73, 12-21; 97, Autumn 1973, 41-42).

Also fairly new are careers teachers. Attached to individual schools within an LEA, careers teachers or tutors are overwhelmingly part-time, often without any relief from teaching duties. They organize and provide educational and occupational information in curricular and extracurricular activities and provide individual or group guidance, as their limited time permits. As of 1971-72, according to an official survey of careers education in secondary schools, 6 percent of schools had no designated careers teacher. However, year heads, form and subject teachers, and headteachers, also played a role in all types of guidance. The most common practice was the designation of one or two careers teachers, as was done in 77 percent of the schools; but only 5 percent of the schools had five or more careers teachers (288, 15). Relatively few careers teachers had been trained for this work.

Nearly half of all schools recorded that careers education and guidance occupied no more than one-fifth of the work load of one member of the staff, while only 5 percent of the schools reported the equivalent of four-fifths of more of the work load of one member of the staff. Since functions identified as information and orientation are included in this survey, the time given to counseling as such is even less than appears in the report (288, 17). This situation was an improvement over the 1968 state of affairs, as reported by Thomas and Wetherell. At that time 60 percent of the boys surveyed were in schools which had just one careers teacher and another 6 percent had only the headteacher for careers work. More than half of the boys in the 1968 survey were in schools where the careers teacher claimed to have had an individual interview with each boy in the leavers' class. In contrast, when the boys were questioned, three-fourths of them said they had never talked to the careers teacher. This conflict of testimony, by no means characteristic of replies to other questions in this survey, was indicative of weak performance by the careers teachers (843, 247-51, 261-6).

The third and longest established group, whose specialty is occupational guidance below the tertiary level, is the Careers Service (formerly Youth Employment Service). Employed by a LEA but not by individual schools, careers officers are full-time personnel who are entrusted with tasks covering every aspect of the transition services. A degree of specialization has entered recently into careers officers work, and the selection and training of staff has become increasingly professional; but careers officers still claim that they have too many functions and are expert in none.

The ratio of careers officers in the schools to young people reaching age 15 annually has been improving in recent years and reached one per 414 pupils in October 1973, ranging from under 375 to over 500 in the various areas of England and Wales (301e). However, the ratios would be less favorable if the target group included all in the 13- to 18-year-old group, as counseling goals specify.

One of the functions of careers officers is to conduct group guidance discussions. During the period 1970-73, careers officers conducted 225,730 group periods in schools, 6,765 in colleges of further education, and 20,630 discussions with groups of parents (301e, 59).

Individual guidance interviews are recognized as the single most time-consuming activity of careers officers (299). A long-running debate in the columns of Careers Quarterly, the organ of the Institute of Careers Officers, has aired a variety of opinions about how important this activity should be. The 1948 recommendation that a personal interview with each school-leaver should be compulsory was not adopted. However, compared to other industrialized countries, Great Britain has had one of the highest rates of guidance interviews with school-leavers.

In the three-year period 1970-73, careers officers saw 85 percent of all school-leavers for initial careers guidance interviews and conducted repeat personal interviews with almost 50 percent of the leavers. In addition, the careers officers conducted, over the three-year period, 175,020 interviews with paretns unaccompanied by children, 117,111 with students in further education, and 356,301 interviews with other young people in and out of school (301e, 59). The careers officers' interviews reach more early leavers than pupils who plan to continue their education. Interviews are usually better organized at secondary modern schools than at either grammer schools or even the new comprehensive schools (656; 843, ch. 9; 288, 7).

In the Department of Education Survey of careers education in 1971-72, 64 percent of the schools claimed that all their leavers at the minimum legal age were interviewed more than once, and 26 percent of the schools providing courses leading to university entrance said that students in those courses had at least two interviews with the careers officers before leaving school (298, 28). Thomas and Wetherell's national survey of 1968 boy school leavers (15 to 16 year old) showed that only 34 percent of the boys said that they had been interviewed at least twice, 55 percent reported just one interview, and 11 percent had not been interviewed at all up to the date of the survey which was close to the end of the school year. In the 10 areas of England and Wales in which the survey was conducted, the proportion of boys who reported two or more interviews ranged from a low of 15 percent to a high of 60 percent (843, 285-8).

Before the individual interviews occur, careers officers have access to school reports, questionnaires, and/or interest inventories, and have an opportunity to discuss pupils with members of the school staff. Heads or other teachers may attend the interviews, and some parents respond to the invitation (321, 115-20, 125). In spite of good preparation and participation, the typical leaver has only one short personal interview in his last year. Nor has the content of the interviews aroused enthusiasm among careers officers and others. In an effort to improve the quality of interviews over a longer period of time, careers officers have proposed more group interviews and selective instead of blanket interviewing (232, 22; 105a, 18-19; 147).

Other aspects of counseling also are debated. A Principal Careers Officer from Leeds decrise several perceived trends which he attributes in large part to the "developmental school of vocational guidance emanating from the United States, as exemplified in the work of Donald Super, and his English counterparts" (232, 20). Among the current developments which Ford criticizes are the separation of factual information, careers counseling, and industrial placement. "The result of the client can easily be careers advice which bears little relation to the facts of the local, regional and national employment situation" (232, 20). He goes on to question the trend toward nondirective counseling, the good influence of which he conceded:

> It has had the additional and less desirable effect of making some careers officers reluctant to provide any factual careers information or professional opinions which might prejudice the non-directive relationship. Consequently, an impartial observer at some careers guidance interviews would hear extremely pleasant conversation concerning interests, personal relationships and home environment, but very little discussion about career aims, alternative careers, the local job situation, the quality of training in particular firms, and job content of available opportunities. If parents were charged a fee for vocational guidance interviews with careers officers, they would have difficulty assessing the value of such interviews in helping their offspring clarify their vocational decisions (232, 20).

As in other countries, differences of opinion on these issues will continue among the practitioners and, especially, between the theorists and the practitioners. In Britain, the issues have a particular urgency because the future functions and position of the careers officer in the transition services must be settled as new legislation is implemented and the competition from school-based personnel and services increases.

In recent years the Careers Service has made intensive efforts to identify young people in and out of school who are "at odds" with society for a variety of reasons or who are "at risk" because of physical, mental, or social handicaps. Within the framework of the comprehensive transition services, the Careers Service has offered reinforced special measures directed toward these groups (289; 283; 653; 525). Although the British Careers Service has made specific efforts to assist minority youth, recent evidence indicates that many youth of West Indian origin reject the official services and resist referrals to them (304). Among the suggestions to improve the situation are the recruitment of careers officers from the minority population, increased training for all careers officers on minority problems, cooperation with other youth service groups, and outreach efforts (25).

In British higher education, each institution long has had a placement service, and recently most of these have expanded their functions to include information and counseling. A central organization of all the university and polytechnic careers services (formerly University Appointments Boards) provides for a sharing of experience. Students also can use the Occupational Guidance Units (OGU) of the Employment Services Agency where 55 to 60 percent of clients are 18 to 24 years old and where more intensive and nondirective counseling is offered without direct consideration of placement opportunities. OGU interviews last about one hour on the average, and about 50,000 clients are seen each year, with a waiting time of three and one-half weeks for an appointment. Since the 1973 act was implemented, about 3 percent of the clients have been 16 to 17 years old and generally have been referred by placement officers in the Jobcentres (the recently spruced-up public employment service). Although the OGUs accept young applicants who are out of school, they do not publicize such services and, as careers officers become more plentiful at further education colleges, the OGUs will become more careful about competition. Questionnaires among users of the OGU show a high proportion satisfied with their guidance even if they had not pursued it.

Surveys among university students have indicated a wide range in utilization of counseling services. Data from mid-1960s showed that under one-third of the sample had received any guidance on the choice of a career at the university. A report from the early 1970s revealed that 89 percent of the sample had consulted careers advisers in upper secondary school and that 31 percent had been influenced by the counseling in their decision to enter higher eudcation (576r).

UNITED STATES

The American educational system has a fair degree of uniformity in spite of its decentralized administration under the individual states. In structure, sequences, and content American secondary education is less differentiated from state to state than is the case in other federal countries with smaller populations, for example, Canada, Australia, West Germany, and Switzerland. Most American states terminate compulsory education at 16, but, unlike other countries which accept school leaving coinciding with the legal leaving age, Americans regard as a dropout anyone who leaves before completion of senior high school, normally at 18. The result of pressure against dropping out has been that 85 percent of an age group complete high school within a year or two of the usual age and a fair share of the remainder obtain a diploma or equivalency certificate over the course of their lives. Half or more of those who complete high school have additional education or training of a postsecondary type within a 10 year period of graduating from high school.

Compared with many other countries, the American educational system permits later decisions on subject specialization; such choices often are not made until the tertiary level and even then the major subjects need not be closely connected with occupational plans or true specialization which occurs in postgraduate studies. Opportunities to change courses, schools, and plans; to utilize second-chance programs; to move geographically; and to interrupt studies and return are greater than in most other countries. Since their options are more numerous and remain open longer than in most countries, American youth feel somewhat less urgency about decisionmaking, especially because many decisions are reversible.

Most high school and college graduates emerge with no more than a general education. To some, this freedom from specialization seems a great virtue, but others view it as a postponement which eventually takes its toll when jobs are sought. American surveys, more plentiful than in other countries, have usually shown great indecision among youth about career goals, ignorance of their own abilities and interests, and lack of skills in processing or making decisions. Whether American youth are inferior in these respects to youth of the same age in other countries is difficult to say without comparative surveys using identical measures.

There is a considerable variation from state to state and within states in the provision of educational-occupational counseling. Educational-occupational counseling is part of the responsibility of full-time and part-time counselors attached to schools. Their training and inclination have given many of them a psychological approach and a concern with personal rather than occupational development. Day-to-day, their lives are crowded with disciplinary actions, program-scheduling, and a host of other clerical-administrative tasks. Because of the breadth of their duties, counselors are present also in elementary schools where educational-occupational counseling, in the sense it is used here, is not really an issue. In secondary schools, individual teachers may offer guidance on education or occupations to individual pupils, but it is not part of their normal duties and is less organized than in other countries. If career education programs alter school practices, teachers would become much more involved in guidance, both of individuals and groups (922; 368, part 4; 841; 94; 264).

Another source of guidance on occupational matters is the system of State Employment Services. Through cooperative arrangements with individual schools and direct stationing of an Employment Service (E.S.) officer in some schools, the E.S. offers testing and guidance services, usually for those students who will enter the labor market directly (584; 585; 490; 491).

Although cooperative agreements exist with about half of the high schools in the country and E.S. records show substantial numbers of students in receipt of E.S. services, the public impression is of inadequate services for a less-favored group in the student body, poor integration with the school personnel, and a concern with immediate job placement, rather than occupational counseling. It is possible that the performance and image of the E.S. as a guidance source in American schools have been tarnished by persistent, high youth unemployment and a generally unfavorable position of high school dropouts and graduates in the labor market.

In higher education, individual institutions maintain their own career offices, formerly concerned primarily with placement and now concerned with a combination of information, guidance, and placement. Under the pressures of a reduction in the job opportunities for college graduates in the fields they traditionally have entered, these college and university officers have sponsored a variety of information and guidance programs for students, including preparation for the realities of job search. Some offices have pursued the psychological, self-analytic approach, but many others have taken a bread-and-butter approach. The extent to which these offices are used for counseling and the opinion of students about their value are known chiefly through ancedotal accounts or reports about the individual institutions.

As matters stand in secondary education, the over 40,000 school counselors, with their wide range of nonguidance duties, are the chief source of careers guidance in the high schools. Recent data on the number of counselors to students show national ratios varying from 380:1 to 474:1 (841, 57-8; 94, ix). A national survey in 1974 indicated that 75 percent of the schools had ratios in excess of 400:1 and one-third had over 500:1 (566, 3). In New York City, the ration in 1975 has been placed at 1,000:1 or 1,500:1, in contrast to ratios of 200:1 to 350:1 in the nearby suburbs (741). Despite the wide variations persisting among types of schools and regions of the country, progress has been made over earlier years. In the 1930s, a ratio of 3,200:1 was estimated for the junior and senior high schools serving white pupils (264,28).

Career guidance centers and counseling departments are appearing in increasing numbers in the schools, influenced by career education concepts. For example, one high school with 2,700 students, located in a suburb of a large metropolis, has a counseling department with nine full-time counselors, a college consultant, a career consultant for testing and placement, and a paraprofessional to coordinate the information activities of the Counseling Resource Center. Services also are available from two social workers, a work experience coordinator, a part-time psychologists, and a visiting psychiatric consultant. In contrast, a 500-student high school, in a semirural county seat in another state, has one counselor and one paraprofessional in charge of the information center. A "typical" school cannot be described, and the full range of patterns is both unknown and changing rapidly, in part because of the spread of career education. However, a 1974 survey based on replies from 25 states suggests that the norm is a high school with two or three counselors (841, 42, 58-63).

The availability of American counselors for educational-occupational guidance has been examined in terms of the distribution of their work time. A national analysis in 1968 concluded that counselors spent only 40 percent of their total time with individual students and "in most instances the counselor was greatly overextended in attempting to fulfill guidance service expectations" (94, ix). From a number of surveys within the last 10 years, it appears that no more than 30 percent of a counselor's time with individual students is devoted to assisting students in educational-occupational planning and decisionmaking. Large shares of counselors' time go to student course programming and advising on selection of colleges, but these activities are conducted with little attention to career development (17; 841, 55-60; 840, 211-28, 234-50).

Thal-Larsen and Parrish in 1974 drew "the inescapable conclusion that school counselors devote a minor portion of their total time and attention to matters of Career Guidance" (841, 56). Taking an even harder position, Sprinthall asserted in 1972 that "counselors try to perform jobs that are patently impossible; they are too few; there is a bewildering plethora of activities they perform; the misperceptions of the work they do are staggering; and they themselves are unsure of what they are about" (841, 56). Echoing this sentiment, the National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education declared that "in many schools, counselors are a hindrance, not a help, to adolescents who would benefit from career programs." They went on to explain that "the counselor's job is often considered a way station on the road to an administrative job. Not enough counselors are knowledgeable about the job market, or about the world of work...Experience at an employment office is probably better background for a high school counselor than experience in a classroom. Many counselors should have both backgrounds" (570, 59-60). Another analyst concluded that "involvement of community resources both in the training and retraining of school-based counselors, and in the actual provision of career advice seems essential if the serious weaknesses of present career guidance arrangements are to be overcome" (253).

Whether a mere increase in counselor time devoted to occupational matters could infuse career development approaches and improve counselor performance is not clear. Among the requirements of such a reorientation would be a reappraisal of the long-held assumption that direct entrance to college is the most desired outcome of high school graduation. In light of the narrowing financial advantage of college graduates in employment, other justifications must be found now for this belief (250; 249). To be an effective counselor, one would have to question the desirability of college attendance for some students who a few years ago might have been urged to attend. But more importantly, the counselors must be well versed, as they now are not, in the alternative educational, training, and occupational paths open to high school students immediately and in the future.

The proportion of high school students who have interviews with counselors on career guidance issues is difficult to determine because so much of a counselor's interview time is spent on other matters and because different results emerge from different surveys in the same time period. For example, a study of out-of-school youth in 1963 indicated that 60 percent of those who had attended or graduated from a high school had never seen a counselor in their school years (877b, 1417). This disturbing report was somewhat offset by national data on high school graduates for the same period which showed that during the senior year, only 14 percent had never seen a counselor and only 17 percent had had one contact, leaving 69 percent with more than one interview. Presumably, those planning to attend college had seen counselors disproportionately (17). An important national survey conducted in 1968 found that half of the counselors reported that 31 percent or fewer of the students in their schools had had two or more 15-minute or longer individual conferences in the previous year. When senior year students were questioned in the same survey, it appeared that 13 percent had had no personal interviews during their entire time at the present high school. Just over half had seen a counselor four times or less in the same period and only 36 percent of the parents had ever seen a counselor. The median length of the interviews with the students was 16 minutes and only 3 percent reported interviews lasting 51 to 60 minutes (94, 26-32, 35-37, 65-66).

A series of national surveys from 1966 to 1971 found that the proportion of students in the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades reporting that they had not talked to a counselor at all during the previous year dropped over the years; by 1971, 15 percent of all three grades and only 10 percent of the 12th grade had had no contact. At the same time, the proportion in all three grades who had seen a counselor five or more times during the previous year rose from 9 to 15 percent from 1966 to 1971 and reached 20 percent for the seniors in 1971 (670, 9-11, 17, 19a).

Turning to surveys which investigated counselor interviews dealing with career issues specifically, a four-state survey revealed that one-fifth to one-third of the students had never received counseling or any of eight subjects which were designated as career-connected. Over 40 percent of these students had not discussed the choice of a college with a counselor. However, 80 percent of those who were not planning to enter college had consulted a counselor about occupations (847, 137, 139, 148, 150). Another survey in 1973 of a national sample discovered that 42 percent of the 11th grades had not talked to a counselor or teacher about how their goals, interests, and abilities related to their top two occupational choices, and 35 percent had not discussed educational and job plans after high school with the counselor. Students ranked counselor assistance with occupations and work at the bottom of the list of areas in which help was offered (673; 674). Thal-Larsen and Parrish concluded that the "counselor can see the maority of students only infrequently and for very limited periods of time, and then for many other personal concerns besides vocational counseling" (841, 58).

While analysts have treated the student interviews with the counselor solely as a function of time available to the counselor, several surveys have indicated that students who knew about the availability of various counseling services at their schools and who thought that they could see a counselor quite easily if they so desired did not choose to approach that counselor. Either they felt no need for help or had no confidence in the counselor, on the basis of experience or hearsay, or they believed that some other source of guidance would be more productive (672; 673; 674).

Intensified counseling of those whose aspirations and horizons are limited by socioeconomic circumstances has occured in the schools, but most of the activity for the disadvantaged has taken place outside of the schools in connection with special youth programs. It has been a weakness of the school-based information and guidance services for the disadvantaged that school provision for follow-up has been weak and schools have had limited direct access to the supporting services and programs without which counseling for the disadvantaged tends to be ineffective effective (709; 779; 777; 276). The importance of school counseling for disadvantaged youth is suggested by a number of studies which show that nonwhite youth place greater reliance on official sources of information and guidance than do their white counterparts (841, 35; 161; 129; 659, 25-8). At the same time, as Tillery writes, there are "selective barriers to effective counseling" (847, 154).

Experience has revealed that counselors must deal with excessive expectations among minority youth as well as a too restricted view of options; counseling techniques have varied from unquestioning support to realtiy exercises (703, 233; 866, 85-96, 102, 111-3, 116, 128-30). One of the results of the egalitarian trend in the United States has been a rejection as "elitist" of special counseling for youth with many or varied abilities who must narrow their interests or for those with a special talent in such fields as mathematics or science (841, 43-5; 161, 151).

The discussion of American counseling usually is in terms of a one-to-one personal relationship. It reflects the prevailing situation, which has been criticized as clinging to a remedial model which is inadequate in light of vocational maturity and career development theories (355). There is a great potential for economizing on counselor time and improving practice through the use of computer-assisted guidance, group counseling, games and simulations, community advisers, and other methods (94; 60; 354). Possibilities also exist of diffusing counseling throughout the curriculum and drawing teachers into the counseling function, as career educators desire. Yet, even as these newer methods are applied and a rosy future is predicted for their contribution, critics warn about shortcomings (841, ch. 6, 7; 264, ch. 7-12, 16; 345). Noting the expenditure of millions of taxpayers' dollars on the development of "sophisticated, computerized career guidance systems which emphasize the process of career decmisionmaking," Stern complains that the quality of the occupational information fed into the computers has been low and frequently consists of misinformation (766, 6, 10).

It appears that the improvement of the innovative methods must go hand in hand with strengthening counselor training and reorientation of counselor functions. With the financial support of the federal government, the following measures to improve career counseling have been initiated: use of the dwindling funds of the Education Development Professions Act to finance training for high school counselors; establishment of demonstration programs to improve career counseling for youth planning to enter occupations which do not require baccalaureate degrees, funded by the Vocational Education Act, Part D; the development of counseling materials for youth and a career guidance system for local education authorities; and incorporation of career counseling in educational programs for disadvantaged youth. Under the leadership of the National Institute of Education and the Office of Career Education, efforts are made to bring counselors up-to-date on the latest research and experimental studies and to provide leadership in counselor training which is admittedly in need of upgrading in both preservice and inservice phases.

EVALUATION

Paralleling the problems in evaluating deliberate programs to impart knowledge about the work world, discussed in chapter 5, are the conceptual, methodological, and data problems in efforts to evaluate educational-occupational counseling (438; 478; 682; 855; 956; 739; 947). Since many young people in a number of countries do not place counselors at the head of the list of those who can or who have helped them most with educational and occupational choices, it is not clear that counseling is a major force in actual decisions (87; 278; 81, 317-21; 408, ch. 3; 517, 34-9). Moreover, the divergence of counseling practices from the ideal models raises questions about what is being judged. In this connection, questions have been raised about the suitability of the school as a setting for nondirective counseling, and the possibility of developing self-reliance and decisionmaking abilities among young people who feel that the educational institutions they attend are basically directive or coercive (925). An American counselor commented that the counselor's job "is really somewhat useless as long as students see the school as a 'prison'" (91, 8). A more basic position, taken by some psychologists, questions the whole process of forcing young people to make occupational decisions because they equate such actions with aging and dying, loss of freedom and self-identity, reduction of options, and entrapment by the "establishment." (747a, 5-6)

Another difficulty in evaluation of counseling arises from the larger societal forces which place constraints on the ability of individuals to understand, seek out, and utilize all the available options which counselors may suggest. Beyond the differences among individuals in aptitudes, abilities, and interests, there are socially imposed limitations relating to class, ethnicity, race, and sex. These affect performance in education, influence decisions by able youth from the disadvantaged groups not to pursue advanced education in the same proportions as more favored groups, and cause a gravitation toward lower prestige occupations than are selected by persons from the advantaged sector, even when all other factors are equal. In these circumstances, any positive impact of counseling may be overwhelmed by the pressure of other forces; even differentiated types and amounts of counseling may be only marginally effective and not easily measured (114; 11; 699, ch. 8; 698, 176; 47; 74; 80; 81; 678; 918; 910, 661-3).

An additional source of trouble in making evaluations is disagreement about the outcomes which might be anticipated from counseling; a related point is that some evaluation research fails to specify the actual counseling treatment. Moreover, it is, as Katz suggests, exceedingly difficult to measure the contribution of each microprocess to major processes, outcomes, and products and especially to know how much should be added or subtracted from existing practice to improve outcomes (447). The big questions about guidance--does it achieve its goals, does it make a positive difference in careers, are programs worth what they cost--these, as Tumin says, are questions "which are absolutely right to ask and impossible to answer as put" (857, 3). Other issues are the reliance on self-reporting versus the application of external critteria and the definition of the standards by which counseling is judged to be successful. Does the way job satisfaction is rated vary sufficiently among individuals to make it useless as an index of successful counseling? Katz concludes that it is wiser to focus on the process of counseling rather than on its content or outcomes, but other believe evaluation of outcomes is feasible (447; 448; 478; 396; 919).

Those who hold the purse strings and feel pressures to make other uses of money currently devoted to counseling, press for evaluations in terms of outcomes. Therefore, a strong incentive exists to pursue evaluation, despite the variety of objectives set for counseling. And there is no shortage of sanguine statements about the potential of counseling. One authority on the transition asserts that "there is no doubt that proper guidance can increase the likelihood of boys and girls entering employment in which they are both content and capable of doing satisfactory work" (105, 94). Further, the Council of Europe, reporting "inadequate" guidance and counseling as one of the "causes of anxiety" among young people, implied that the situation could be rectified by more and better counseling (146a, 17).

To examine the more important approaches in evaluation studies of counseling is to indicate the range of assumptions which evaluators employ. A first, rather primitive way of judging the effectiveness of counseling is to ask the recipients of the guidance whether they are satisfied with it. Clients may be questioned immediately after the counseling interview or at some time later when their responses may be influenced by intervening events. Defenders of this method, while not denying the need for other types of evaluation as well, argue that clients who disagree with the counseling need not be followed up to see whether they have implemented the advice and that much sound guidance cannot be implemented because of factors beyond the control of the counselor and the counseled (260a; 554a).

On balance, inquiries about the helpfulness of or satisfaction with guidance seem to yield more negative responses than positive, but differences arise according to the country and whether the questioner is connected with the guidance service or is an outside analyst. Some of the reasons for dissatisfaction are related to misconceptions about the nature of the counseling service. For example, young Britons who believe that the Careers Service is primarily a placement service resent not being directed to specific jobs at their interviews. A general indifference to the counseling effort has been discerned among young people who believe that counselors are unaware of or unable to deal with new youth attitudes toward work or with the particular problems and limitations which affect the educational and occupational futures of specific individuals or groups (576q).

Apart from determining the level of satisfaction after the interviews, surveys of "before" and "after" attitudes can be utilized. For example, a German analysis of young school-leavers has determined that before the counseling interview 64.8 percent of the sample thought they did not know enough about potential careers, but after the interview only 25.9 percent felt this way, a change of mind directly attributed to counseling (417, 45). Satisfaction with guidance has also been measured by such indicators as willingness of students to use guidance services at college on the basis of their experience with secondary school guidance services (148). Further, the number of job counseling interviews has been related to job placements. It was found that more counseling interviews has been related to job placements. It was found that more counseling interviews per person, up to a certain point, were associated with higher placement rates than prevailed among those who had not been counseled at all. One British survey, without investigating whether the guidance was implemented or drawing causal connections, has found that young school-leavers who had been counseled were more likely still to be in their first job a year later than the relatively small number who had not been counseled (286, 1967-67, 17-20). And a Canadian study has found a positive relationship between visiting a counselor and the level of educational plans, formulation of career goals, and vocational competence, but not with whether an occupation was chosen (81, 334-8). In a study in South Australia, one of the six states, it was determined that 37 percent of those leaving upper secondary education had received vocational guidance and that about half had changed their plans as a result (23, para. 5.31).

These informal approaches to evaluation of counseling are supplemented by a type, the most common form, which asks whether those who have received specific guidance have followed it and whether those who have followed it are better off than those who have not. Educational as well as occupational choices are investigated; and features of jobs, such as earnings, occupational level, training and promotion opportunities, security of employment, and job satisfaction, are utilized in the evaluations. Some analysts look to the immediate experience after the counseling to validate it. But others feel that counseling should have long-run effects and that the entire career pattern must be weighed.

However, it is argued that any evaluation undertaken years after the counseling is in dagner of attributing to a remote counseling experience all kinds of other influences, many of which did discover definite superiority in the record of the counseled group might offer no lessons to current guidance procedures because of differences in the circumstances and attitudes of the current cohort.

Some examples of evaluation studies of this type may be cited. A Japanese investigation of guidance services offered to applicants to upper secondary school can be understood only in terms of the importance attached in Japan to the particular scool which is attended. The survey discovered that the schools to which pupils were advised to apply showed greater congruence with the schools to which they were admitted than with the schools of their first choice. This was seen as a vindication of the guidance, and evidence that those who followed the advice did better than others (425, 78-9). A Dutch follow-up on educational guidance five years after it was given found that half of the pupils had reached the predicted educational level; that girls exceeded the predicted level more than boys, probably because their intellectural capacities had been underestimated; that a single guidance experience was insufficient; and that much of the potential improvement in guidance depended on altering the rigid school structure which forced early decisions and made second chance decisions difficult to implement (74).

Evaluations which center on jobs and careers as outcomes of counseling have usually been conducted at a fixed point in time, have treated occupational choice as a once-and-for-all matter, and have worked with a specific recommendation from the counselors. According to a French follow-up study from the 1940s, after five years almost 80 percent of the boys and girls were still following the occupational which had been advised, and less than 3 percent were considered occupational failures. But 17 percent of those who failed to follow the advice or who changed occupations were judged to be failures. And only 8.9 percent of the followers of advice wished they had chosen another occupation against 30.5 percent of the nonfollowers of advice (415, 126-9). Quite in contrast, a recent German analysis raised the question whether reluctance and dissatisfaction of young apprentices with their occupations and situation was related to excessive official zeal in filling existing vacancies and to overly directive guidance (348).

In Britain, where such follow-up surveys have usually shown that those who followed the advice of counselors had superior outcomes (478), an interesting difference has arisen about the nature of the advice which careers officers give in the interviews with school-leavers. Drawing on data from the National Survey of Health and Development, a longitudinal study begun in 1946, Cherry examined a group of the young people 18 months after they left school and again in 1964 when they reached 18 years of age. She compared the performance of those who had had guidance with that of a random control group and then within the experimental group, compared the record of those who followed the careers officers' advice with those who seemed to have ignored it, on the assumption that the careers officers' records represented their advice about the most suitable occupation. Length of service in the first job was used as the criterion of success. On this basis, Cherry concluded that the careers service had "done valuable work in the school-leaving interviews held with members of the National Survey. The careers officers were able to assess the young school leavers on two factors, ability and occupational interest, which are shown to be related to first job tenure, and to relate these assessments to the types and levels of jobs that were locally available" (112, 35, 38).

Having conducted another longitudinal study of British school-leavers in which they investigated what occurred at the interviews by questioning both the school-leavers and careers officers, Thomas and Wetherell began to doubt that careers officers made independent recommendations. Thomas and Wetherell found that in 62 percent of the interviews the "discussion focussed entirely upon suggestions put forward by the boy, the Careers Officers contributing suggestions of his own in only 35 percent of cases." Because such a large proportion of interviews appeared to be merely a confirmation of the boys' prior occupational choices, Thomas and Wetherell concluded that "the factor which explains differences in job-stability is not 'taking the Careers Officer's advice' but 'knowing what one wants to do' (i.e. 'vocational maturity')." Moreover, the most stable group consisted of that 6 percent of the boys who suggested occupations which the careers officer advised against, while the next most stable group was comprised of the 30 percent whose suggested occupation was approved by the careers officer. The least stable group was composed of 53 percent of the boys who took first jobs which had not been discussed at all at their interviews (844, ch. 10). Thomas and Wetherell, asserting that the careers officers may be better at "backing winners" than at "making winners," allowed for the positive effects of career officers' support and encouragement to young people's plans and the possibility of indirect benefits which were not identified by the type of analysis used (844, ch. 10).

The divergence between the British evaluators does not touch on two issues which other analysts might question: the use of job stability as a criterion and the failure to conduct a longitudinal survey of sufficient duration to encompass a substantial career as Super's developmental model requires (789). Some attempts in this direction have been made, usually showing that those who had followed the advice were better off (208; 478).

A branch of this kind of evaluation does not look at vocational advice but rather at vocational maturity, which potentially can be influenced by the counseling services. Using vocational maturity tests in the school years as predictors, these evaluators analyze later careers to see how well the actual experience matches the expectations. Super and his followers contest Holland's declaration that the "relationships between indices of vocational development and adult vocational behavior" are weak and that school grades, intelligence and socioeconomic status are equally "predictive of adaptive behavior" (382, 6).

Still different evaluation criteria are used by those who maintain that counseling should be concerned with developing planning and decisionmaking skills rather than offering advice or concrete recommendations which can be checked later against actual experience. Those who attempt to foster decisionmaking skills often are content to evaluate immediately after counseling has occurred, frequently in a classroom situation before there has been any occasion to make actual educational or occupational choices. This evaluation method often produces favorable results for the counseled versus the noncounseled and for the situation after counseling versus that before counseling. In these cases, the counseling may consist of role-playing and the use of computers or games in addition to or instead of one-to-one personal counseling (749; 750; 474; 368, ch. 10, 11, 12, 13; 396).

For this type of analysis, any finding that young people are undecided about their next educational or occupational step represents a failure of counseling (214h, 10). A German study cited as evidence of the effectiveness of counseling the fact that 68.5 percent of a sample of young school-leavers had been undecided about their occupational choice before the counseling interview, but only 16.7 percent were undecided afterwards; while just 2 percent had been decided before and emerged undecided after the interview. In 51.8 percent of the cases, pupils moved from undecided to decided, and in 46.3 percent of the cases the interview did not alter the previous situation, whether it consisted of being decided or undecided (517, 44-5). An unpublished French inquiry among 18-year-olds who had received counseling based on ONISEP materials revealed that half already had decided on their occupation and did not alter it; another fifth did not wish to make an occupational choice, even tentatively, before attending university; over one-fourth were influenced by the counseling to make a positive decision; and about 3 percent changed their minds as a result of counseling.

Some believe in testing actual experience and attempt to evaluate early counseling experiences against an entire career pattern, using somewhat different standards and methods than are applied in assessing the occupational situation at a single point in time. In general, those who believe that vocational maturity and selfawareness are the desired outcomes from counseling have more difficulty and perhaps less interest in establishing the direct contribution of counseling to careers than those who assume that the counselor advises and the counselee accepts or rejects advice.

Taking cognizance of the situation in evaluation, two American authorities stated that up to 1973 "evaluation studies on the outcomes of career counseling have been few, and those which are available do not provide much support for the effectiveness of counseling." But they ended on a more hopeful note, citing recent "better designed studies showing more favorable results" (345, 181). Because of residual differences about the aims and practices of counseling, the problems of evaluation which affect all of the transition and intermediary services are even more acute in counseling than in information, placement, induction, and follow-up. Moreover, until the actual practices of counseling conform more closely to the various models and until it is established that non-directive activities can be developed in the restrictive atmosphere of schools, unfavorable conclusions about the impact of counseling cannot automatically be charged against the idea of counseling itself.

Instead, such unfavorable evaluations may be taken as guidelines for improving or changing the practices.

Many see job placement in the first full-time job as a critical test of the transition services. Chapters 7, 8, and 9 concern the several aspects of this activity--how young people search for first and early jobs, how they actually find those jobs, the role of the official placement services, and how use of the official placement services affects the jobs obtained.

CHAPTER 7. INITIAL PLACEMENT: SEARCH METHODS

In many countries the public authorities, including educational institutions, regard it as a particular responsibility to assist young people to find their first full-time jobs. Strong public placement facilities for youth entering the labor market are seen as the culmination of earlier information and guidance services and the precursor of induction-to-work and follow-up services. Placement, more immediately and directly than the other transition services, extends a bridge from school to work.

Concern about careful placement of new entrants stems from several sources. The physical and emotional immaturity of young school-leavers, joined to their ignorance about how and where to seek work, a deficiency shared by older new entrants as well, justifies greater and more differentiated placement assistance than is offered to experienced workers. Japanese manpower officials make a clear statement:

> New school graduates are in the process of mental and physical development and have no vocational experience and therefore they need special assistance and guidance. For this reason, the Director-General of the Employment Security Bureau lays down a nationally unified policy every year and ... the Public Employment Security Office, keeping close contact with schools, provides employment exchange services for new school graduates (603,70).

A former president of the British Institute of Careers Officers, declaring that "the careers problems of young people are of a totally different order to careers problems for adults, "maintains that placement, along with the other transition services, requires "a special understanding of adolescents" (97, Autumn 1973, 18). An observed tendency of young people to accept the first job which is offered is interpreted by many as evidence of deficient information and counseling services as well as a need for greater placement assistance (499, 299; 406,190; 269,4; 105,139). A British careers officer claims that "if more time and care were taken with the initial placement, many of our later problems might be avoided." (97, Winter 1970-71, 34). The increasing gap between the jobs held by parents and those open to their children, a great movement of youth from the countryside in some countries, and the complexity of current occupational structures are additional reasons for requiring official placement services.

Particular concern about the placement of new entrants is based on the belief, derived from sociological and labor market studies, that the nature and level of the first full-time job and the type of firm entered are peculiarly significant for subsequent occupational achievement and prestige (68,48-58; 126; 500; 59; 177, 7-21; 699,9; 628,57-66, 391-7, 404, 421-22). Dutch manpower officials, among others, have made this point:

> The placement of the young is undertaken with great care, since an adequate start in working life is of paramount importance for the future of any individual. (620, 73).

There is also is a negative aspect, emphasized by the chairman of Britain's Community Relations Commission. If the first work experience is unrewarding, frustrating, boring, or dead-end, young people, especially inner-city, minority youth, may reject "the system," drop out of the economy, and not register again for work (39, 29).

Another motivation in some countries relates to the reliance on new entrants to staff the expanding industries and occupations. Public placement policy for new entrants, as in Japan, may be part of a national economic plan which accepts varying degrees of persuasion or direction of young people, according to the philosophy of the country. It is possible that rapid and efficient placement may occur at the price of some loss of individual free choice.

The conviction that new entrants require special placement assistance has been strongest in countries where employers prefer to recruit inexperienced new school-leavers, where formal training programs or apprenticeship systems are offered by employers, or where a large proportion of the age group leaves school at an early age. Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Austria, and Japan are among the leading exemplars. In the United States, on the other hand, the discovery in the 1960s that some young people were disadvantaged by background, schooling, ignorance of how and where to look for work, attitudes toward work, and discrimination in the labor market led to a singling out of particular youth groups for official employability and placement assistance, rather than to the development of comprehensive or effective placement services for new entrants as a whole (490; 584; 585; 586; 766a; 840, 106, 230-4).

Those whose endorsement of the official channels is more restrained believe that some of the informal channels are equally or more useful, and they welcome multiple methods of job search and competition among them (252; 439; 676; 727, 80-5). Some doubt the wisdom or need for a free public employment service. Others, especially in Great Britain, where the Youth Employment Service became particularly known for its placements in first and subsequent jobs, maintain that the underdevelopment of information and guidance services leads to a concentration on placement and that the latter could be much reduced if the earlier transition services were given the proper attention, time, and emphasis (97, Autumn 1972, 35; 97, Summer 1973, 43). By and large, though, a distinct placement function within the transition services is accepted.

However, the official placement channels are subject to keen competition from other job search methods, since new entrants are not required to use the official sources and feel no need to confine themselves to one search method. Unlike the situation with information and counseling, the effects of the official and unofficial placement methods can be distinguished reasonably well. This chapter, therefore, examines the characteristics of job search methods, describes how young people seek their first and early jobs, and measures the effectiveness of the public channels against others. Throughout, the multiple methods of job search are distinguished from the single method used in actually finding a job.

OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL JOB SEARCH METHODS

Job search methods are here defined as "official" or "unofficial," although these categories depart slightly from the most common classification, "formal" and "informal" methods. Official methods are invariably formal, but all formal methods are not official. For purposes of analyzing the public transition services, however, the most germane classification is one which differentiates the official from the unofficial placement methods.

Most prominent among the official channels is the public employment service which may serve all age groups or operate a youth division, or, as in Britain, have a separate organization for youth, attached to the local education authorities and nationally supervised by the Department of Employment. To protect the employment service, a number of countries, among them Germany, Austria, and the Scandinavian countries, forbid their schools to make placements. But where placements by schools are permitted, encouraged, or tolerated, this official method plays a somewhat ambiguous role, whether schools serve in authorized cooperation with the public employment service (Japan), as independent but accepted placement services (United States), or as competitors of the Careers Service (Great Britain). British opinion is, in fact, somewhat divided on whether schools should leave placement entirely to the Careers Service, as the latter would prefer. In higher education, official placement services usually exist in the institutions, but additional official sources may also be available. Surveys of job search and job-finding methods at all educational levels often fail to distinguish between the personal aid of teachers, professors, or other individuals and help offered by an official placement service in the institution.

In addition to the public employment service and school placement services, there are some less pervasive official channels. These include formal examination systems for government or other posts, armed forces recruitment offices, war veterans offices, manpower training agencies, public assistance agencies, welfare agencies, organizations to aid the disabled, community organizations, and the Swedish adjustment groups (anpassningsgruppen), which are workplace organizations devoted principally to finding places for older or disabled workers and suggested as a resource for hard-to-place youth.

Unofficial search methods consist of aid from relatives and friends; direct applications to employers; answering or placing ads in newspapers or trade and professional journals; applications to professional associations or trade unions; and resort to private employment agencies. Many northern European countries ban, limit, or regulate private employment agencies which are chiefly found in English-speaking countries among the world's developed nations. Consultation with friends and relatives about job possibilities runs the gamut of casual and vague inquiries of one or two persons to persistent and specific discussions with many people. In the same way, a wide variety of behavior is encompassed in the concept of "direct applications to employers." It includes offhand dropping-in on employers by uninformed youngsters looking for any job, especially one near home. It also covers the methodical canvassing of all the relevant firms by knowledgeable new entrants seeking particular types of work. Letters, phone calls, and visits quality as "direct application," as does following up notices at the plant gates or in store windows, provided that they are carried out by the applicant on his own initiative. This search method is likely to be overreported, since some contact with employers is a customary aspect of job search even when it is originally stimulated by another search method (879a).

Within the classification of job search methods as "official" or "unofficial," individual job search methods differ significantly in regard to the type and accuracy of job information they furnish, their degree of job specialization, the kind of access to jobs they offer, and how uniformly they treat job seekers. Further differences may be observed in the attitudes of job seekers toward various search methods. Also, the search methods can be differentiated according to their position in regard to the existing structure of the job market.

As sources of information, job search methods range from those which provide intensive, detailed, "inside" information about the job, the firm, and its staff to those which give routine information such as titles, duties, pay, and hours. Intensive information, characteristic of some but not all of the unofficial search methods, rarely is provided by official sources; information obtained from friends, relatives, employees of the firm, teachers or professors, and trade unions is most likely to be intensive. Direct applications to employers ordinarily produce less intensive information than can be obtained from personal connections, but more intensive than is offered by newspaper ads, private employment agencies, or official placement services. To the extent that search methods involve preliminary contact with prospective employers, the search methods which provide the most intensive information to the job seeker are also likely to give the employer the most intensive information about the job seeker.

Whether a job seeker wants or needs intensive information depends on the level and type of job. New entrants whose qualifications and expectations channel them toward routine jobs usually feel no need to acquire intensive information about vacancies, especially if they are eager to work close to home and are prepared to change jobs. Lacking prior job experience, new entrants have no basis of compapison to judge intensive job information. At this level, the psychosocial differences among available jobs may seem slight and not worth much search effort or prior investigation. Young workers, in trying out various jobs, acquire job information and knowledge of themselves from actual experience. It may be a middle class prejudice that a careful prior weighing of alternatives is worthwhile under all circumstances.

If all job information were equally accurate, the choice between intensive and extensive information sources would be simpler. However, the range of accuracy is enormous, even when an employer communicates directly with an applicant and especially when friends and relatives are the search method. The very existence of a vacancy may be inaccurately reported, let alone the characteristics of the job. Some newspaper advertising by private employment agencies may be intentionally misleading, describing nonexistent vacancies in order to attract clients. The public employment service sometimes creates the same impression when it refers several applicants to a single opening; those who find the position already filled feel they have been misinformed.

Most search methods, both official and unofficial, involve the use of intermediaries. They have a potential for altering outcomes by selecting one rather than another candidate to submit to an employer, by giving a biased or inaccurate description of the job, or by directing individuals to jobs which are lower or higher on the occupational scale than they might obtain by direct application. If employers are careless or unclear in the vacancy information they provide to the placement intermediaries, and they frequently are, the intermediaries will not even have accurate extensive information for job seekers, the minimal requirement.

Not only do job search methods vary as to the type and accuracy of job information they offer on individual vacancies, but they also are dissimilar in the range and number of vacancies they provide. In general, the more intensive the information provided by a search method, the more limited the range and number of jobs. Indeed, a friend or relative may know about only one job vacancy at any time. Deliberate specialization in certain types of jobs or geographical areas also characterizes many of the search methods, especially the private employment agencies, unions, professional associations, and vocational or technical schools. Unintended concentration may occur, as in the public employment services, which tend, worldwide, to have a disproportionate number of unskilled vacancies. However, the E.S. geographic coverage usually is wider than other sources for all jobs except those at the professional, technical, and managerial level where national coverage of opportunities is common among the specialized unofficial channels.

It might be thought that a search method providing a wide occupational range and a large number of vacancies is unquestionably to be preferred to a method with a more limited scope. But to the individual who has decided on a particular type of job or geographical area, specialized sources with few vacancies may be more useful than a wide-ranging source. Even an undecided or indifferent job seeker needs to know about jobs in a fairly narrow occupational range, although a a choice of specific jobs, industries, and firms may be valuable. Some new entrants, especially the older and better educated ones, seek specific occupations but desire wide geographic coverage in job information. Individual needs vary and search methods cater to the differences. No single formula can be prescribed for the optimum number and range of vacancies a search method should provide.

Another difference among job search methods through intermediaries is in their access to and influence with employers. Influence is particularly valued if it provides access to a job which is better in various respects than the job seeker could otherwise obtain. It appears that the methods offering the most intensive information also are most likely to have the personal connections with prospective employers which can ease the interview and promote hiring. Even if these information sources do not actually intercede on behalf of a job seeker, they probably present a more personal introduction to the employer than can be obtained through other job search methods. The possibility of direct intercession with an employer, especially for jobs which are in high demand or are unusually desirable, undoubtedly prompts the search for jobs through relatives and friends. In countries where trade unions are involved in job placement, union membership may be a precondition of employment, and in some unions admission to membership depends on personal connections.

Search methods therefore divide into those which are equally open to use by all, those where some prior qualification is required, and those which rely on a personal relationship and are only available to selected individuals or produce different results for different individuals. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that many job seekers should be ignorant of or reluctant to use certain job search methods. For example, those who feel that private employment agencies will not have appropriate jobs or will discriminate against them rightly avoid these agencies. The widest variation in results comes from job search through friends and relatives, since everything depends on who one's friends and relatives are and whom they know. Taking all of the aspects of job search methods together, it is apparent that each job search method is not equally available to all new entrants or equally effective in seeking every type of job.

Search methods also vary in their attitude toward the existing job structure; their alternatives are to passively accept, actively support, or seek to influence or change the hiring practices and prejudices of employers. Passive acceptance of employer standards is the most common position everywhere and is prominent in the institutionalized or formal intermediaries, whether official or unofficial. Active reinforcement of existing patterns is exemplified by the practice in some trade union hiring halls of screening out job seekers of the "wrong" race, ethnic group, sex, or age. Efforts to influence or change employer standards may be made by public agencies which enforce government policy on discrimination or employer hiring procedures, have the task of persuading employers to accept disadvantaged job seekers, or are engaged in employability development, skill training, and other upgrading of workers. When employers are compelled to change their standards and to notify their vacancies, the official channels are more likely to be successful in opening new job opportunities than when they must use persuasion to obtain notifications of better job openings, especially in slack labor markets. In periods of transition in public attitudes, these positive activities of the official channels may speed the pace of change, influencing both the users of their services and job outcomes.

An associated way in which public placement agencies may pass judgment on the existing job structure is through an explicit decision not to refer job applicants to openings which are deemed substandard or where the turnover rate is exceptionally high. As a matter of official policy, few countries pursue this course; Sweden is an exception (480, 60-70). However, placement officers also may follow a passive policy of neglecting the least desirable openings if they have enough unfilled vacancies to serve their clientele. This is a new and debated idea in agencies which have a long tradition of serving employers and job applicants equally (840, 70-2, 401). For example, controversy of this kind has attached to the British Youth Employment Service's past performance, with some claiming that the Y.E.S. served the employer to the neglect of the new entrants, and others taking the reverse position. Still more disputed is the question of how this relationship ought to be handled and whether dead-end, low-level jobs should be filled at all. Employers, on the other hand, have been resentful when they are urged to accept young people who do not meet their standards, whether or not such standards are required by the job (699, 105-8; 105, 144-8; 510, ch. 10,17,18). In any case, it should not be assumed automatically that the official job search agencies are neutrally engaged in a strict matching of vacancies and applicants.

With this background on the nature of the various search methods, an examination now can be made of the actual job search behavior of youth. The search patterns of new entrants are complex in their timing, combinations, sequence, and duration, depending not only on the type and number of search methods chosen, but also on the searcher's age, sex, education, training, prior knowledge of the labor market, personality, persistence, and job aims, as well as on family background and a host of labor market and economic factors over which the job seeker has little control. Only a part of the complexity is captured in the available empirical surveys.

JOB SEARCH METHODS

Analysis of the job search methods used by new entrants, offering an opportunity to compare the efficacy of the official with the unofficial channels, is hampered by deficiencies in the empirical data. Only a few of the studies of job search methods distinguish new entrants from other job-seekers. Moreover, the empirical studies of new entrants do not use an identical number of job search methods or uniform definitions. The phrasing of questions and timing of surveys also varies as does the manner of approach to respondents--open-ended questions or prompted responses. None of the surveys incorporates measures of the intensity of job search, defined as the number of times each method is used to make personal contact with potential employment. As it is, most data give equal weight to a single visit to the employment service and to multiple requests to many relatives and friends for job leads. And many surveys count looking at newspaper ads as job search even if no follow-up occurs.

Another dimension of job search rarely analyzed is the pattern and ordering of multiple job search methods. Over the period of the search, do most young people use the various methods simultaneously or sequentially? And, if sequentially, at what point in the search are the official channels consulted--at the beginning or the end of the search? Many search studies present a cross-sectional picture of a longitudinal situation. It also is difficult to find surveys of new entrants which further disaggregate the sample and analyze job search methods according to the characteristics of the searcher or the type of job sought. Further, the effectiveness of job search methods is usually measured by the number of job acceptances, with little attention to the length of time taken to find the job, the quality of the job, or the duration of the job. Finally, analyses of job search methods usually do not discuss the impact on job search methods of employer hiring practices. In a comparative study, this aspect becomes conspicuous as differences emerge amoung countries in the acceptability of the official channels to employers. MacKay, reporting on British conditions, noted that because of employer preferences employees may be forced to adopt a certain pattern of behavior in their job search, but that this is not "support for the view that informal channels are necessarily effective means of communicating information simply because they are often used by employees and are many and varied) (516, 346).

Within these limitations, some interesting findings emerge from the available studies of the job search methods of new entrants; three national inquiries are particularly useful. The British longitudinal study of boy school-leavers in 1968-69 offers several measures not found elsewhere (843; 844). One American study concerns the job search methods of those holding jobs in January 1973 and whose reason for looking for work had been that they left or completed school, college, or graduate study; no age limits are set, but the majority were 16 to 24 (872; 871). In the second American study, recipients of baccalaureate and advanced degrees from July 1971 to June 1972 who sought employment were investigated in October 1972, with separate results for the employed and unemployed (955).

NUMBER OF METHODS

A useful starting point is to discover the average number of job search methods per seeker. One hypothesis offered in the United States, referring to individual behavior, is that resort to "a variety of job search methods increases the likelihood of a smooth transition into the labor force" (515, 55; also, 744, 55; 732, 328). An alternative position, tentatively offered here, is that, for groups, a larger number of search methods is associated with a difficult labor market--slack demand, or a search for specific or rare jobs, or the lack of effective official placement agencies. Internationally, on slim evidence, it may be hypothesized that fewer search methods are needed in countries with a high demand for new entrants and a well-organized labor market, including an active placement service.

The British study of school-leavers offer supporting evidence for the view that more search methods are required where employment circumstances are unfavorable. The average number of job search methods of the total sample was 3.4 on a base of 11 search methods and 2.2 on a base of five collapsed categories. When the average number of search was analyzed by the length of time the boys had been unemployed before obtaining their first jobs, the level and type of job they had sought, and the area of residence, it was clear that more job search strategies were used on average when entry unemployment was longer, the occupational level of the job sought was higher, and the area employment situation was more difficult. For groups, the required number of search methods appeared to be variable, depending on external circumstances. Within a difficult labor market situation, it is possible that individuals using a larger number of search methods would be more successful, but present data have not covered this aspect. An individual dimension was explored in the British longitudinal study's investigation of the number of job search methods utilized by boys who changed jobs within the first 18 months of leaving school in 1968-69. Two findings emerged. The job changers used fewer search methods for each successive job, and they used fewer methods to find their first jobs than did the boys who remained in their first jobs throughout (844, ch. 3,4).

Previous British studies of early school-leavers also indicated that favorable employment conditions were associated both with fewer job search methods per job seeker and with briefer entrance unemployment. It was also suggested that some youngsters who were uninformed about the Youth Employment Office or were reluctant to visit the Y.E.O. early on may have used more job search methods than were strictly necessary, since they ended up with jobs obtained through Y.E.O. Those who tried for jobs beyond the level they eventually attained or who were fussy about the jobs they sought also were apt to utilize more search methods than others (104, 168-9; 105, 148-9; 510, 117-8, 138-42).

American nationwide data cast light on the number of search methods associated with differences in the level of jobs sought. Recent recipients of bachelors and advanced degrees, both those with jobs and those still seeking work in October 1972, had used, on average, 3.5 methods, on a base of nine job search methods (955, 40). Another group of job seekers, labeled "never worked before" and including many less educated new entrants, which was surveyed in 1970, 1971, and 1972, averaged less than 1.5 search methods in each of the three years, on a base of six search methods. Having recognized that the fewer the number of search methods designated in a survey, the lower the average number of search methods in the results, it still appeared that those who had searched for the scarcer, more prestigious jobs may have used more search methods. On the other hand, no significant differences in the average number of job search methods appeared when the national survey for 1970, 1971, and 1972 was subdivided by race, sex, or age (79, 37, 40, A3, A5).

International comparisons of the average number of search methods are hazardous because of the small number of studies and countries covered as well as differences in concepts, methods, and the groups sampled. However, the possibility that fewer search methods may be required in certain institutional settings is suggested by Swedish experience. Studies in 1969-71 of job search methods used by young Swedes (with no separation of new entrants) reveal that a high proportion of job seekers, both job changers and the unemployed, relied on a single job search method (811; 812; 824). Another series of Swedish surveys, along American lines, in November of 1971, 1972, and 1973 indicated that unemployed new entrants to the labor market placed a declining reliance on a single search method in the three years, although by international standards the proportion following the single method approach still was high. It is possible that the lengthening duration of unemployment observed in this period influenced the resort to more search methods (796, 18, 42-44; 808; 809).

A recent nationwide American study gave some scarce data on important aspects of job search activities (872; 871, Table 3). Among the job finders of all ages in the January 1973 survey, 36.1 percent had used five or more search methods; a higher proportion of men (39.9) than women (31.4) and of Blacks and other races (42.9) than whites (35.3) was in this category. Under one-fifth of the total used only one method, a slightly lower proportion used two methods, and one-fourth used three or four methods. The average number of methods increased as the job search lengthened. Three-fifths of the total looked for work for less than five weeks. Teenagers, especially those seeking part-time work, had the briefest job search, but new entrants took longer to find first jobs than 16- to 24-year-old youths as a whole. A search lasting 27 weeks or more was endured by 6.4 percent of all whites, 7.9 percent of Blacks and other races, 7.1 percent of new entrants from school, but only 2.7 percent of teenagers as a whole.

A measure was made of the distance traveled to look for work. The great majority went no farther than 25 miles from home, and a substantial proportion limited themselves to 10 miles. Teenagers were least likely to go more than 10 miles; over half were in this category. Women more than men, and Blacks and other races more than whites traveled the shorter distances. Only 8.5 percent ventured 101 miles or more; while 12 percent of the man were in this category, just 4.2 percent of women, 4.7 percent of Blacks and other races and 2.4 percent of teenagers made such a long trip. Job search was conducted for five hours a week or less by 59.9 percent of the men, 71.1 percent of the women, 67.7 percent of those entering the labor force, and 64.6 percent of the 16 to 24 age group. More than 10 percent of the men but only 5.4 percent of the women, 7.7 percent of the 16 to 24 year group, and 6.6 percent of new entrants devoted 21 hours or more a week to job search. Black-white differentials were not very marked in this category. The popular notion that the unemployed do, can, or should devote all of their waking hours to job search must be reexamined.

The luxury of turning down a job offer was enjoyed by just under a third of the total but by only 22.2 percent of Blacks and other races and 22.6 percent of male teenagers. The most important reason for turning down a job for all age groups was low pay, but for teenagers location and hours of work were relatively more important. For the vast majority, the job they accepted was the only job offer they received. Whatever comparisons these job finders made were with earlier jobs or jobs they heard about but were not offered (872). According to another survey, college graduates rejected somewhat more job offers than was reported by the general population of job finders (955

A British national survey of the unemployed conducted in October 1973, when the official unemployment rate was 2.3 percent, concluded that job seekers were not out of work because they were overselective or overdemanding about jobs. In fact, over two-thirds of the survey members "reported not having turned down any jobs that they had been offered or could have got" (155, 74). While these findings on job search are limited, they present an empirical challenge to the assumptions of some theorizers on job search that unemployment may be useful to job seekers, enabling them to weigh various offers, adjust their demands, and find the best possible job among many.

UTILIZATION RATES

Supplementing information on the average number of search methods are data on the proportion of new entrants who use each of the designated search methods and the utilization rates of the official channels vis-a-vis the unofficial. Since, in most cases, new entrants neither are required to register at employment service offices nor receive financial benefit from registering, utilization rates are not affected by extraneous circumstances.

Among the British school-leavers, the most popular search methods were, in order of importance: visits or phone calls to employers, visits to the Youth Employment Office, looking at newspaper ads, and asking somebody for advice about job-seeking. Fifty-six percent of all the boys directly contacted employers and 53 percent visited the Y.E.O. When the boys also were asked which methods they had used more than once (an approach toward measuring the intensity of use), the same methods proved most important, but in a different order; checking newspaper ads moved to first place, followed by visits to the Youth Employment Office (844, ch. 3,4). It should be borne in mind that the boys were not asked about following-up newspaper ads, but merely about looking at them.

The job search methods in 1973 of the American youth who had recently left or completed school were, in order of frequency: applying directly to employers (66.6 percent), asking friends about jobs where they work, asking friends about jobs elsewhere, and answering local newspaper ads. In the leading four methods out of a total of 20, the official channels played no part. The major official methods occupied the fifth, eighth, ninth, and 11th places, in the following sequence: school placement service, asking teacher or professor, state employment service, and civil service test (872; 871). In another American national survey in 1966 of the job search methods of young males and females (14 to 24 years old) who were seeking jobs while still attending school and of males of the same age who were seeking jobs while still attending school and of males of the same age who were out of school and unemployed, the same high rank for direct contacts with employers and low rank for the public channels was found (644, I, 78; 743, I, 59).

While comparisons between countries are difficult, it was significant that 71 percent of the British school-leavers either went to the Youth Employment Offices or, in some places, consulted job ads outside offices; but less than 30 percent of the American sample of 1973 visited the state employment service. However, more than one-third of the Americans utilized their school or college placement offices and almost as many consulted teachers or professors, while only about 16 percent of the British school-leavers rated their teachers or headmasters as particularly helpful in advising about or locating job vacancies (844; 871). On balance, British school-leavers seem more prone than either American or French to use officially designated job search methods (721; 513; 496).

Unemployed Swedish youth have been highly likely to use official channels. Data for unemployed new entrants for 1971 showed that over three-fourths of this group had used only the employment service in their job search; by 1973 this proportion was down to just over one-third; but taken together with those who combined the employment service with another method, the employment service still accounted for over 70 percent of search methods (819, 15). However, official concern has been shown because comparisons of the age distribution of the unemployed in the monthly labor force surveys and the registered unemployed at the employment service revealed that unemployed youth were underregistered at the employment service compared with other age groups and that the underrepresentation appeared to have grown over recent years (796, 42-3). In order to familiarize young people with the E.S. offices, final year pupils in the compulsory school have been taken on study visits to the E.S. and those pupils who have not applied for admission to upper secondary school or its equivalent have been registered with the E.S. and informed about job opportunities (828; 832).

Among American degree recipients who found employment, the four most common search methods had been direct applications to employers, visiting the college placement office or asking a professor, consulting friends and relatives, and looking at newspaper ads. Some 78 percent applied to employers, but only 18.3 percent consulted the state employment service. The degree recipients who were still unemployed in October 1972 also gave first place to contacts with employers; but they used college placement offices less frequently than had the employed graduates and resorted to newspaper ads, the employment service, and private agencies more often (955, 37, 40, Table 5).

The data also indicate considerable variation among and within countries in the utilization rates of the official channels compared with the unofficial channels. In the United States and France, the official methods lag further behind the most popular unofficial methods than they do in Sweden and Great Britain. Moreover, this position is more marked for youth than for adults in the United States and France, in contrast to several European countries where the highest rate of utilization of the official channels occurs among youth, especially new entrants. Three annual American surveys of unemployed job seekers for 1970-72 show that young workers under 20 (not exclusively new entrants) made less use of the public employment agency, private agencies, and newspaper ads and made more direct applications to employers than other age groups (79, 37, 40, A3, A5).

The causes of the generally lower utilization of the official channels in the United States and France and the differences among age groups probably lie in less plentiful or effective provision of official channels, less specialization in new entrants and youth, less knowledge about available services, fewer placement services in or near schools, and a less favorable public image of these channels.

How do varying labor market conditions within a country affect the choice and intensity of job search methods? The British longitudinal study of young school-leavers offers some evidence on the relation between utilization rates of search methods and four factors--the amount of unemployment until the first job, the labor market situation in the area of residence, the level of the first job, and job changing. The longer the entry unemployment, the larger was the proportion of boys resorting to almost every search method. Moreover, the official channels became relatively more important as job search time lengthened. The "visits to the Y.E.O. and armed forces," which held third place for boys with no entry unemployment, moved to first place for those with under a month, as well as one month or more, of unemployment (844, ch. 3,4).

For area of residence, the survey indicates that each important search method was used more by the boys living in areas designated as "hard" for employment than by boys in the "medium" and "easy" areas. Although the relative reliance on visits to the Y.E.O. and armed forces increased less markedly in the "hard" areas than did resorting to unofficial methods, when the three types of areas were compared as to the proportion of boys who visited the Y.E.O. more than once before finding their first jobs, two of the three "hard" areas led the list (844, ch. 3,4). This cross-sectional information for Great Britain, which indicates a greater utilization of the official channels by individuals who have difficulty in finding a job or by those who live in labor market areas where jobs are scarce, might usefully be extended by studies over time and for other countries.

Another relationship deals with the extent of use of the Y.E.O. according to the level or type of first job actually entered. The least use was made by those whose jobs are described as "top manual" or "manual apprentice." No doubt many of these boys used personal contacts or influence to get these prized jobs. On the other hand, boys seeking white-collar jobs made the greatest use of Y.E.O.; 65 percent visited the Y.E.O. at least once and 32 percent came more than once (844, ch. 3,4). The explanation here is not that the Y.E.O. was a particularly good source of such jobs, but rather that these early leavers, possessing less education and fewer credentials than older, better educated boys competing for the same type of job, and often coming from homes with no experience or contacts with white-collar work, turned to the Y.E.O. for help.

The last category analyzed was job changing. As they looked for successive jobs within the first 18 months, job changers narrowed their search methods and concentrated on the methods which had ranked highest in the search for the first job. Visits to employers and the Y.E.O. become relatively more significant, while resort to such strategies as asking someone for advice or writing to an employer declined over the successive job changes. The job search methods of the changers differed slightly from those of the stayers. Boys who remained with one employer during the first 18 months after leaving school (55 percent of the sample) had searched for their first jobs through the same five leading methods as the job changers, but the order differed. Also, greater emphasis on the personal contact methods was shown by the stayers than by the changers. Not unexpectedly, changers made many more contacts with the Y.E.O. than stayers after the start of the first job, but prior to that time, the stayers had more contact. Six months after leaving school, 79 percent of the boys who had left two or more jobs had contacted a Y.E.O., but only 8 percent of the boys who stayed in one job did so; a continuing but less acute discrepancy appeared when 18 months had elapsed (844, ch. 3,4). These results, amplifying earlier local studies by British analysts open up the issue of whether certain job search methods can result in the type of jobs which lead to frequent job changing (510, 115-7; 104, 160-2).

Some national and local studies, especially in the United States, report that utilization rates of job search methods vary considerably according to the personal and social characteristics of the new entrants and young job changers. Confining the present discussion to the utilization of search methods as distinguished from effectiveness rates or job-finding methods, a number of studies, some not confined to youth, indicate that the least able academically, unskilled workers, the unemployed, minority groups, other disadvantaged young people, and inner-city residents rely more heavily on the employment service than others but that they use the school placement service, where it exists, less frequently. Less conclusive evidence is available on group differences in the utilization of unofficial methods (502; 732; 86; 459; 488; 371; 485; 659; 665; 636).

Confusing utilization and effectiveness rates, some American analysts have stated that racial differences in the rate of utilization of the various search methods are a prime explanation of the type of jobs obtained. A particular point made is that reliance on friends and relatives limits disadvantaged youth to a narrow and undesirable range of jobs. These analysts advocate a change in job search methods as a means of improving the type of jobs obtained.

Several observations may be made about this argument. First, the utilization of a search method does not insure that it will be effective. If, for example, increased numbers of blacks approach trade unions or private employment agencies but the number who are offered jobs as a result remains unchanged, no improvement in jobs will occur. Second, unless a change in the job structure occurs, either voluntarily or through government pressure, resort to more or different job search methods is an inadequate instrument to combat segmented or segregated labor markets or to achieve occupational upgrading. In general, job search methods reflect the types of jobs sought rather than determining the types of jobs obtained. Third, the use of friends and relatives is not an inherently undesirable search method. It is bad chiefly when the job seeker's occupational qualifications are considerably higher than those of his source's or when suitable jobs in the primary labor market are not suggested by contacts. Fourth, if all other factors are held constant, racial or ethnic differences among users of various job search methods prove to be negligible, as Saunders found, and are replaced by differences in educational levels, social class, age, and place of residence (732). Fifth, the intensity and manner of searching for jobs may be more important than the choice of particular search methods. In any case, utilization rates must be supplemented by effectiveness rates and methods of finding jobs, since utilization rates by themselves only reflect the behavior of the supply side.

EFFECTIVENESS RATES

In most studies, the effectiveness rate relates the number of new entrants who say that they obtained their first jobs through a given method to the number who say that they used that search method. If one could add measures of the intensity of use of each search method, calculation of effectiveness rates would be improved and such repetitive methods as following up newspaper ads and asking relatives and friends for aid would diminish in importance. But the three available nationwide surveys of new entrants which offer effectiveness rates do not measure intensity of use. Nor do these studies assess the time, effort, and money spent on job search, the quality of the jobs obtained, or the impact on the allocation of the labor force (680, 484-85).

Two aspects of job search effectiveness may be distinguished, even when it is defined simply as the proportion of jobs attributed to each search method. These are job offers and job acceptances. Usually ignored, job offers were counted in the British longitudinal study of 1968-69, which indicated that the boys received 1.9 job offers on average. As a proportion of the number using each search method, offers were most frequent for boys who visited and made phone calls to employers, asked somebody for help, visited the Y.E.O., and wrote to employers. Most boys must have accepted the first job offered. The rate of job acceptances was highest for the methods which also had the highest rate of job offers. All offers were accepted by the boys who waited for others to do something, 96 percent were accepted by those who asked somebody for help, 92 percent by those who asked somebody for advice on jobs, and 90 percent by those who asked somebody for advice on jobs, and 90 percent by those applying to employers. The rate dropped to 81 percent for boys who visited the Y.E.O., but no search method showed a high rate of rejection of offers (844).

On this evidence, the British Youth Employment Service performed better than the adult employment service. In a pioneering study of West Midlands workers who faced a loss of their jobs in 1966-67, Reid found that 56.1 percent of the displaced workers who asked the employment service for help received job offers, a lower rate than the Y.E.S. achieved (63 percent). At the same time, 61.5 percent of those who received an E.S. job offer rejected it against only twenty percent for the Y.E.S. (681, 167-9; 680, Table 4; 155, 68-72; 506, 352-9). Differential experience of this sort was one factor in the reluctance to merge the two services, described in chapter 3.

Additional information is available on the Y.E.O. performance on job offers by area of residence and by the job level (844). Of the boys who had come to the Y.E.O at least once, the proportion who received a job offer ranged from 44 percent to 78 percent in the 10 areas. The proportion receiving offers was above average in the "easy" areas, but the rate of acceptance tended to be low or average, attesting to the existence of alternative vacancies. Nationwide, boys who entered the bottom manual jobs received the highest proportion of job offers (68 percent). Those in middle manual jobs were next (63 percent), followed by boys in nonmanual and top manual jobs, including apprentices (59 percent). Acceptance of offers was high, ranging from 77.2 to 81.4 percent, with the boys who obtained nonmanual jobs showing the highest acceptance rate and those who entered the top manual class the lowest. Among early school-leavers, prospective apprentices might easily have had access to other and better openings than the Y.E.O. could provide, but these particular aspirants to white-collar jobs, as was indicated earlier, would not.

Turning next to the proportion of those visiting the Y.E.O. at least once who attained a job by that method, just over 50 percent obtained their first jobs through this source, but the range in the 10 areas was from 32 percent to 62 percent. The areas below the national average had all been classified earlier as "medium" or "hard," while the "easey" areas registered above average. It appeared that the Y.E.O. effectiveness rate was highest in areas where relatively few boys sought its placement help, more employers and more vacancies came to the Y.E.O., more job offers per boy were made by the Y.E.O., and the acceptance rate of job offers was relatively low (844).

The Y.E.O.'s effectiveness rates for various types of jobs follow anticipated lines but differences were not marked. Of all the boys who came to the Y.E.O. at least once and whose first jobs were unskilled, 53 percent found their jobs through the Y.E.O. At the low end were those who obtained the best manual jobs, with an effectiveness rate of 44 percent. Bearing in mind that some of the boys may not have followed any of the suggestions given them by the Y.E.O. and that some boys reduced their job expectations as they searched, the range of these effectiveness rates is not wide. The Y.E.O. was only slightly more helpful to boys entering unskilled work (844, ch. 3, 4; 699, 99).

British effectiveness rates may now be set beside American, despite many limitations on comparability. Table 7.1 shows the ranking of utilization rates and the actual effectiveness rates for the most effective job search methods in each survey. In the three surveys a high degree of agreement exists on the most effective methods. It is apparent also that, with a few exceptions, the most effective job search methods were the ones used most frequently. The British effectiveness list includes one unorthodox and little-used method (waiting for others to do something), while the effectiveness list for the American degree recipients omits a method with a relatively high utilization rate, job search through professional periodicals or organizations.

Direct application to employers was the most highly utilized and effective method in every case, with friends and relations second in effectiveness in two studies. Newspaper ads were heavily consulted but were relatively unproductive in both countries. In the American study of January 1973, effectiveness rates for all ages were similar to those for the subgroup of young people who sought work because they had left or finished school, except that the whole group of job seekers had notably higher rates of success through union hiring halls or placing and answering ads in newspapers (872). The data for new entrants suggest that British effectiveness rates run higher than American and that there is a greater gap between the rates of the official and the unofficial methods in the United States than in Great Britain. Although British official methods are listed in a more

Table 7.1 Rank of Utilization and Effectiveness Rates of Job Search Methods for New Entrants

Major Job Search Methods	Great Britain (1968-69)[a] 15-16-yr.-old Males		United States (1973)[b] Left Or Finished School All Levels				United States (1972)[c] Degree Recipients			
	Rank	Effectiveness Rate	Rank	Effectiveness Rate Total	Male	Female	Rank	Effectiveness Rate Total	Male	Female
Public employment service	2	50.9	7	14.1	15.6	13.0	7	3.3	...	...
Civil service application	...	...	9	11.9	11.0	12.8	8	11.6	10.5	...
School placement office	...	...	4	21.8	21.0	22.6	2	27.1	25.1	29.6
Teacher or professor	...	...	6	13.3	14.6	12.1				
Direct application to employer	1	67.8	1	45.4	46.2	44.6	1	54.2	49.5	60.1
Friends	5	66.6[d]	2	15.9	17.5	14.2	3	48.6	54.7	37.5
Relatives	4	46.9[e]	5	13.8	14.9	12.6				
Private employment agency	...	...	8	21.0	13.3	26.9	6	27.2	30.8	...
Newspaper ads	3	19.6	3	12.3	11.0	13.9	4	14.4	12.1	18.7
Waiting for others to do something	10	85.7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total number of methods specified in survey	11	...	21	...	...	...	9	...	...	...
Average number of search methods used	3.4	...	4.8	...	...	...	3.5	...	...	...

Sources:

[a] 844

[b] 872, Table B-7, C-6

[c] 955, Table 5.

[d] "Asked somebody to help him get a job." May include teachers, etc.

[e] "Asked somebody for advice." May include teachers, etc.

concentrated fashion than American, they seem to be at an advantage over the American in both utilization and effectiveness rates.

Do effectiveness rates for the several search methods vary among subgroups of youth? The two American surveys analyzed in Table 7.1, as well as an all-age American survey in January 1973, tell us that females got better results than males from civil service tests, newspaper ads, private employment agencies, and school placement offices, while males did better than females through other methods. These results are more easily explained by differences in the types of jobs sought than in sex differences or sex discrimination within the search methods (879a).

Data on racial differences without age breakdowns were provided by one American national survey (871, Table 1; 872). Whites had higher effectiveness rates than blacks and other races from direct applications to employers, answering newspaper ads, school placement services, private employment agencies, union hiring halls, and asking friends or relatives about jobs not at their own workplace. Blacks had a better effectiveness record than whites with the public employment service, local organizations, and asking friends or relatives about jobs at places where they work. These findings were consistent with a few local studies, including inner-city surveys (371; 770). A British survey of the recruiting methods used by employers of minority workers indicated that "plants employing large proportions from the minority groups are more likely than average to recruit nonskilled workers through the youth employment service, the local employment exchange and through introductions from existing employees" (757, 44-5).

Because some of the search methods which are more effective for whites than blacks are associated with the better jobs, it does not follow that a greater utilization by blacks of these search methods would result in a higher share of such jobs for qualified blacks. Without other changes, such as in discriminatory hiring practices, the chief result would be to further reduce the effectiveness rates of these methods for blacks. However, if the employment service secures better jobs for blacks than relatives and friends, it would be sound advice to blacks to replace or supplement the latter with the former. In any case, job search methods as such appear to be a less important influence than other forces in the distribution of job opportunities.

Job-finding methods, the subject of chapter 8, are a logical extension of job search methods and provide a better opportunity to examine the role of the official transition services.

CHAPTER 8. INITIAL PLACEMENT: JOB-FINDING METHODS

Job search methods can be translated into job-finding methods if both utilization and effectiveness rates are available. But these are scarce. The previous chapter has reported on the few surveys which present both sets of data for new entrants. However, a larger number of surveys covering a greater number of countries offer the methods of finding the first or early jobs of new entrants without any reference to the search methods. For purposes of cross-national comparisons the material on job-finding methods is richer. It will be analyzed in this chapter, with occasional references to the sometimes divergent results from the job-search surveys reported in the previous chapter.

Since the present emphasis is on the performance of the official programs in the transition services, the public placement channels, as defined in aspects of the job-finding methods of new entrants will be presented: data on how jobs are found; material on the job-finding methods of subgroups of the youth population; and information about the time of finding first jobs, referring particularly to the practice of prearrangement. Some differences among countries in the performance of the public placement channels also will be explored.

The national statistics on job-finding methods of new entrants are largely based on the recollections of the young people involved and often have been collected years after the event. Admittedly, national statistics do not reflect the wide disparities which may exist within a country; American national averages, for example, conceal significant but unsystematic differences from state to state and within states. Granting that it would be desirable to know more about the variations from place to place within a country, it still seems valid to compare the results of national sample surveys. More serious restrictions on cross-national comparisons arise from differences in the way individual surveys were conducted; the job-finding methods they designated; the sex, age, and educational groups canvassed; and the year when the first job was obtained. Most of the surveys cited in Table 8.1 are confined to or deal largely with first full-time jobs for new entrants to the labor market. Each survey, except the Canadian, covers a national sample.

HOW FIRST JOBS ARE FOUND

Sharp and persistent differences among countries prevail in the share of first jobs attributed to the official channels, according to Table 8.1. Among the countries covered, Japan, Great Britain, and Sweden are in the lead in the share of the public channels in teenage placements in first jobs. However, only in Japan did the official sources

Table 8.1 Method of Finding the First Job

		Percentage by Official Methods		
Country	Year of Survey	Schools or Teachers	Employment Service	Other
I. United States	1963	5.7	5.2	—
II. United States	1973	13.6	4.4	3.0[a]
III. United States	1970-71	20.8	1.8	6.8[b]
IV. United States	1970-71	13.8	1.1	3.0[b]
V. United States	1969	—	2.7	—
VI. Canada (Paulend)	1961	13.0	10.0	—
VII. France	1964	8.0	7.0	7.0[a]
VIII. France	1973	6.0	4.0	—
IX. Great Britain	1962-63	6.0	29.0	—
X. Great Britain	1962-63	7.0	27.0	—
XI. Great Britain	1972	—	16.2	—
XII. England & Wales	1966	5.0	20.0	—
XIII. England & Wales	1966	3.0	22.0	—
XIV. England & Wales	1968-69	—[c]	19.0	2.0[f]
XV. Sweden	1963-64	—	15.8	—
XVI. Sweden	1976	—	20.3	—
XVII. Sweden	1972	—	22.0	—
XVIII. Japan	1962	46.4	10.3	—
XIX. Japan	1965	50.3	8.2	—
XX. Japan	1962	32.2	6.5	—
XXI. Japan	1965	37.9	5.3	—

Sources (by country): I. 652, Table B-5 (completed less than four years of college, both sexes, aged 16 to 21 in 1963). II. 871, Table 2; 872, Table C-6 (left or finished school or college, both sexes, mostly aged 16 to 24, found first jobs in 1972 or earlier). III. & IV. 651, Table 5 (male and female recipients, separately, of bachelors and advanced degrees in 1970 and 1971 who were 20 to 34 years old). V. 628, 14-16, 84 (white males who entered the labor force in the late 1940s and early 1950s, surveyed in 1969). VI. 333, 84; Appendix III, Table I (high school graduation or less, both sexes, who left school 1954-61, aged 21 in 1961). VII. 47, 9, 26, Table 31 (employed, unmarried young people, both sexes, aged 15 to 24, from towns and cities with more than 25,000 population, excluding Paris, in 1964; more than half of responses concerned first jobs). VIII. 135, 124 (males and females, most of whom left or finished school between the ages of 13 and 19 years and first entered work from 1965-73). IX. & X. 501, Table IV-6 (males and females, separately, who left school in 1962-63 and were aged 15 to 16½). XI. 315, Table 3.23 (how males and females aged 15 to 17, who had been in the job less than 12 months, first heard of the job). XII. & XIII. 321, Table II-7-9 (males and females, separately, who left school at 15 in 1966). XIV. 844, ch. 3

Percentage by Unofficial Methods					
Family, Relatives, Friends	Approach to Employer	Advertisement	Private Employment Agencies	Other Means or Combinations	No Response
35.1	41.0	3.9	3.4	5.8	—
28.8	31.6	1.5	5.2	5.9	—
23.6	34.2	3.5	3.0	6.2	—
18.5	50.0	4.4	4.4	4.1	—
55.8	34.6	4.8	2.2	—	—
29.0	35.0[c]	—	—	13.0[d]	1.0
47.0	14.0	14.0	—	3.0	—
48.0	22.0	10.0	—	10.0	—
35.0	16.0	8.0	—	7.0	—
28.0	14.0	17.0	—	5.0	—
40.7	19.0	15.0	3.8	5.4	—
41.0	16.0	12.0	—	5.0[d]	—
35.0	16.0	19.0	—	5.0[d]	—
38.0	34.5	6.0	—	1.0	—
23.5	33.3	13.3	—	12.7	1.4
18.8	34.9	15.9	—	10.2	—
32.0	23.0	15.0	—	6.0	3.0
18.9	___[g]	1.7	—	22.8	—
14.3	___[g]	1.4	—	25.8	—
24.8	___[g]	3.4	—	33.1	—
18.8	___[g]	4.4	—	33.5	—

(special unpublished tabulation of effective job search strategies by 15- to 16-year old male school-leavers in 1968-69, using total number of strategies as base). XV. 817, Table 4(males and females, aged 14 to 17, entering new jobs during the year May 1963-May 1964). XVI. 807, Table 301 (both sexes, aged 14 to 19, employed in the survey week of May 1967). XVII. 793, 48 (1972 graduates, both sexes, of the nine-year compulsory school, mostly age 16, surveyed nine months after graduation). XVIII-XIX. 430a; 430b (new entrants of both sexes, aged 15 to 19 main activity was working). XX-XXI (new entrants, aged 20-24, main activity was work).

[a] Civil Service Test or other formal examination.

[b] Civil Service and professional periodicals or organizations.

[c] Includes advertisements in press.

[d] Includes those continuing full-time in jobs held while at school.

[e] Included in "Family, Relative, Friends."

[f] Armed forces applications.

[g] Included in "Other Means or Combinations."

account for a majority of first jobs for teenage entrants. Japan's record for teenage entrants is not matched by its performance for new entrants aged 20 to 24, but it makes far more of the placements for these groups than for other youth or adults of all types.

The proportion of first jobs credited to the official methods would be higher if the records of these agencies were accepted instead of the statements of the young people. For example, the British Youth Employment Service (now Careers Service) usually has claimed a larger share of first job placements than the surveys of young people have indicated; it was 35 percent for 1965-68, according to the Y.E.S., but young people surveyed in 1966 reported only 21 percent (301, app. B; 321, 134). Some British experts maintain that the Y.E.S. may have underestimated its own placements, while others suggest that it has claimed placements it did not make (699, 97-98; 104, 160, 169; 412, 78; 410, 113-14; 434, 32; 481, 227-30). In any case, the placement performance of the separate youth agency has been superior to that of the adult employment exchanges which, after recent improvements in their appearance, location, and activities, were said to account for about 20 percent of all placements in 1975 (295g; 155, 88-97).

In Japan, the public employment service (PESO) usually has credited the official agencies with more placements than young people have in Table 8.1. PESO also has counted as its own some placements which young people have attributed to the schools (427; 618, 49; 889, 81). Despite the uncertainty about the exact truth in each country, the differences among the countries revealed in Table 8.1 remain significant.

The division of first placements between educational institutions, on the one hand, and public employment services, on the other, follows no fixed pattern and seems unrelated to the total share of placements claimed by the official methods. If the data permitted clearl distinctions to be drawn between placements made by individuals teachers and professors who act in place of or in addition to official school agencies and placements by teachers and professors which are askin to those made by friends, the share of the official methods might be slightly reduced in the United States, Canada, France and Great Britain.

In the examination of the utilization and effectiveness rates of job search methods in chapter 7, direct applications to employers have been reported as a more important search method than family and friends. Yet Table 8.1, on the actual methods of finding jobs shows family and friends ahead of approaches to employers in all the French and British surveys and in some American and Swedish surveys, while Japanese data do not permit a statement on this point. A recent American survey of high school graduates of 1972 places direct applications to employers at the head of the list, with 52 percent citing it as against 46 percent naming friends and relatives (864, 8). The remaining unofficial methods of finding first jobs vary considerably in importance from country to country and are not defined identically or separated out in each survey. Young new entrants, especially males, find relatively few jobs through newspaper advertisements, and youth entering the labor market make so little use of private employment agencies that many surveys ignore the category or include it with another method.

Trends over time in the share of the official agencies in placements of new entrants can be reliably documented for only a few countries. In periods of full or overfull employment, Germany placed 50 to 60 percent of new apprentices through the Federal Employment Institute, but since the onset of the recession in 1974, a lower proportion of new apprentices are placed officially. According to records kept by Britain's Y.E.S. since World War II, the proportion of new school-leavers given leaving interviews has been fairly steady at about 85 percent of those leaving school at the minimum age. But the proportion whose first jobs were found through the Y.E.S. reached a peak of 48 percent in 1950-56, thereafter declined to about one-third in the period 1962-71, and was even lower in the period, 1971-74 (699, 98-101; 301, app. 4; 309, 16). The most recent indications, however, were that the proportion has risen again (36, 11). Turning to other British studies which relate to trends, a survey made in the depths of the Great Depression showed about the same share of first jobs for the official channels as other studies found in later full employment periods (434, 34-35, 55-79). Thomas and Wetherell's recent cross-sectional study of 10 areas in England and Wales suggested no regular pattern of official placement shares according to economic conditions (844, ch. 4). Nor have local British studies indicated any clear picture (104, 164; 943, 111; 510, 114; 223, 85; 421).

Another aspect of interest is a comparison of the job-finding methods of new entrants with those of job changers of various ages. The only known American source providing national and group information on a uniform basis, the inquiry of January 1973, showed relatively fewer new entrants finding jobs through the employment service than did young or prime age job changers, although the differences were small. However, school placement offices and jobs obtained through taking civil service tests played a much more important role for the new entrants than for the entire 16-to-24-year-old group (which included both new entrants and job changes). Schools were insignificant for those 35 years old and over, but civil service tests accounted for the same proportion of jobs for those 25 to 35 years old as for new entrants. On balance, the public methods placed relatively more new entrants than 16-to-24-year-olds as a whole or than 25-to 44-year-olds. In regard to unofficial job-finding methods, new entrants differed from other groups chiefly in their lower rate of success in finding jobs through newspaper ads (871, Table 2; 872; 879a).

Saunders, tracing a national cohort of young men for three years, discovered that job-finding methods shifted toward the formal channels as the youths grew older, especially among whites. He also related positively the finding of jobs through formal channels to the level of occupational knowledge, participation in a training course, and the degree of cultural exposure at age 14 (732, ch. 5). Another survey showed that those high school graduates who scored in the highest 30 percent on an occupational information test obtained jobs through the employment service more than four times as often as those who scored in the lowest 30 percent (160, 108). Using three categories of academic ability, another survey found the lowest proportion of placements by the employment service among the highest ability group. But the situation was reversed for placements originating from school and college placement offices (864, 24). The same situation obtained when three socioeconomic groups were tested (864, 29).

Japanese surveys in 1962, 1965, and 1966 revealed that new school graduates without experience in the labor market obtained relatively more of their first jobs through the two major public channels than did older job seekers without work experience or than experienced workers of every age (430a; 430b; 889, 81). Since schools and teachers in Sweden are strictly forbidden to engage in placement; the employment service is virtually the only public channel. The Swedish survey of 1967 indicated that young workers 14 to 24 years old, whether new entrants or job changers, were more likely to obtain their jobs through the employment service than were older workers (807, 13, 20, Tables 301, 302). More recent information suggests that the difference may have narrowed or may have disappeared (796, 42-44).

METHODS OF SUBGROUPS

Within a country, significant differences may appear in the job-finding methods of subgroups of new entrants, distinguished by sex, age, level and type of education, place of residence, handicaps, or racial or ethnic background. The share of the official placement methods for each subgroup is of particular interest and it also is pertinent to inquire whether the patterns vary among countries, noting that the total amount of data available and the number of countries covered is less than satisfactory.

SEX

As the previous chapter indicated in discussing the effectiveness rates of search methods, sex differences in job-finding methods are likely to reflect the types of jobs being sought by new entrants and the capacity of the various channels to provide appropriate job leads, rather than outright discrimination by the agencies. In Japan, where public methods dominate, male-female differences in job-finding methods are not significant, except that school and college placement offices, the agencies of first and primary impact, are credited with relatively more of males' first jobs, leaving the public employment service to serve females relatively better. Together, the public channels show no important sex differentials, nor do the unofficial methods (430a; 430b). Sweden's surveys in 1967 and 1972 indicate that young females obtain relatively more of their current jobs through the employment service and newspaper ads and fewer through approaches to employers and personal contacts than do comparable males (807, Table 301; 793, 48). Less consistency on sex differences is shown in the surveys in Table 8.1 for Great Britain and the United States, but the recent results for the American high school graduates of 1972 show more females than males finding jobs through the official sources (864, 8). Placements of new entrants through newspaper ads and private employment agencies are disproportionately of females. In Great Britain many employers recruit all of their office workers, including new entrants, through specialized private agencies. Young girl school-leavers have been reported to prefer this search method because it confers adult status, in contrast to the age-limited Careers Service.

AGE AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

In most countries, new entrants are divided into younger (either under 20 or under 18) and older (either 20 to 24 or 18 to 24). Since such age divisions are related to educational levels, the two are considered jointly. If credence is accorded to the frequent declaration by officials that the youngest, least educated new entrants require more assistance from the official sources, then placement statistics on first jobs should reflect this concern. On the basis of the available data, it can be said that practice conforms to intention in Japan and probably in Great Britain, while in the United States and France the objective appears not to have been implemented.

When Japanese data on new entrants are analyzed, whether by age or educational level, the two major official placement channels decline in importance as age and education of new entrants advances (430a; 430b; 603, 72-73). The facts of the British case are less certain because national information is less comprehensive. Taking the under-18 group for which Y.E.S. then had responsibility, the 1968-71 report of that body indicated by its division of leavers into three groups that, as age and education increased, the proportion of first placements claimed by the Y.E.S. declined from 38.2 to 24.9 percent. Beyond this educational level and through university, comparable national data have not been assembled, nor have the additional placements by teachers and professors been calculated (301d, app. B; 154, 22, 78).

A major American survey in February 1963 encompassed young people aged 16 to 21 who currently were out of school and were not college graduates. Establishing three classes of new entrants according to educational level (less than four years of high school, four years of high school, and one to threeyears of college), the survey found that school placement services and personnel placed in their first full-time jobs relatively more of those who had completed a full school course (8.9 percent) and were particularly unhelpful to those having the greatest labor market difficulty, young people with less than four years of high school (1.2 percent). Nor did the public employment service remedy this imbalance; the proportion whose first jobs came through the employment service rose sharply from 3.0 percent to 11.7 percent as the educational level advanced (652, Table 35).

When information on those holding bachelor's and advanced degrees is added, it is clear that the placement assistance of educational institutions and professors is greater at the higher educational level than at any other, giving this group the highest proportion of first jobs through official methods (651, Table 5; 955, Table 5). Another nationwide survey of all educational levels pertains to labor market entrance in an earlier periods, placing greater strain on recollection powers. Omitting a separate category for school or college placement sources, this survey reported a weak tendency for the better educated to find their first jobs through the public agencies and indicated that those who had not completed an academic course were distinctly less well served than others (628, 82-85).

Thus a positive relation obtains in the United States between age/educational level and the degree of aid from public placement sources. If these data are currently valid, a strengthening of employment service activities is indicated, particularly for those who enter the job market with inadequate educational credentials. At the same time, schools and colleges might improve their placement role for those who temporarily or permanently abandon a course of study and seek work.

American data also permit some observations on the relation between unofficial job-finding methods for the first full-time job and age/educational level differences. Ornstein's older information for all educational levels indicates that direct applications to employers tend to rise with educational attainment and reliance on family and friends tends to fall (628, 82-85). Similar but less distinct patterns emerge from other surveys (499, Table 6; 732, ch. 5, 6).

A French study in 1964 related the method of job finding (over half of the youth sample were reporting on first jobs) to two educational categories: with and without academic or occupational diplomas. Those who had diplomas (43 percent) were much more likely than the rest to have obtained jobs through an educational institution or formal examination, but somewhat less likely to have been placed by an official agency. Dependence on parents, other relatives and friends, and direct application to employers were markedly more important for those without diplomas (47, Table 32). A more recent inquiry conducted during 1973 among new entrants in two regions of limited economic opportunity for youth, Languedoc-Roussillon and Provence-Côte d'Azur, indicated that the higher the educational level, up to the first university degree, the greater the likelihood that first jobs were found through the public placement service. Overall, only 5 percent of the entire group found their jobs in this way, and the most common job finding method at all educational levels was friends and relations (486 b).

TYPE OF EDUCATION

Another difference in public placement rates is associated with the type of education received. Young people in several countries who complete vocational or specialized courses are placed in first jobs by official methods, especially by schools, to a greater extent than those who finish an academic course. Individual instructors are likely to be more significant placement sources for vocational graduates than for others (449, ch. 6, 22; 762, 242; 903, 129-30; 333, 57, 59; 403, 9, 17-18, 34).

From the American experience another educational distinction can be made--between those who seek work as an adjunct or part-time activity while attending school or college and those who are in the labor market full time. A January 1973 survey of job-finding methods indicated that school placement offices were considerably more helpful, but the employment service was slightly less useful to those seeking part-time jobs than to those who had left or finished school (871, Table 2). The same conclusion can be drawn from the survey of 1972 high school graduates (864, 11, 14; 864a).

RESIDENCE

Place of residence is an important but neglected factor in differential rates of first placements by the official methods. Although no conscious desire can be discerned on the part of the public authorities to achieve variable placement rates according to the size or location of the job seekers' community, yet, in the cast of communities where jobs are scarce or limited in character, the aim might well be to reach a higher share of public placements than elsewhere. A division of the United States into four large regions showed a slightly higher share of public placements in the Western Region for high school graduates of 1972. Direct applications to employers was a conspicuously more important method of job finding in the North Central Region (864, 34).

Evidence on job-finding methods by place of residence was provided in a national French survey of 1964 which excluded all places with fewer than 25,000 inhabitants as well as Paris. Size of community was related to the method of job finding. Using three size classes, the survey found that schools were relatively most active and the official placement agencies least prominant in the largest places (over 100,000 inhabitants). But these differences were small. More significant variation by size of community affected placements by parents (most important in the smallest communities), placements by other relatives and friends (least important in the smallest communities) (47, Table 33).

The relation between the economic circumstances of a community and the method of finding first jobs was explored in the Thomas and Wetherell 1968-69 survey of 15-to-16-year-old boys. Identifying 10 areas in England and Wales according to the ease of obtaining employment, the study reported the proportion of boys in each area who found their jobs through the local Youth Employment Office; similar data on placements through schools or teachers were not available. Among the 10 areas, the five highest Y.E.O. placement rates were realized in three "hard" areas and two "easy" areas (844, ch. 4).

HANDICAPPED

A commitment to young people who are handicapped in the labor market by severe physical, mental, social, or behavioral disabilities exists in almost all of the industralized countries. Hard data are not available on the job finding methods of this group, whose handicaps often are multiple. But from other information one may conclude that in most of these countries the official methods, including special schools and organizations, both public and voluntary, place a higher proportion of handicapped than of other school-leavers, especially when placement in sheltered employment is included. Ease in placing the handicapped is closely related to economic circumstances. The Inner London area, a prosperous area, reported that a temporary, difficult employment situation in 1966-67 made it "necessary to canvass employers more widely for each boy and girl this year, but some can still be found who are willing to go out of their way to employ handicapped young people" (306a, 20). But in the same period, a town in the sluggish North East, reporting on "the lack of employment opportunities for young people in Sunderland--and in particular for the less academically gifted," notes that "the handicapped young person, particularly boys, are in an infinitely worse position...he or she is faced with the prospects of being unemployed for considerable periods" (286, 21). The Netherlands and Scandinavia, with comprehensive and well-developed public programs covering every aspect of education, social services, training, and employment, are ahead of the remaining countries in providing for the handicapped. The type and amount of schooling provided, the social services offered, the kind of preparation for work, the special transition arrangements, and the available jobs are usually more important than intensive placement efforts.

In Great Britain, the tendency in the 1960s was to regard youngsters of West Indian, Asian, and African background as handicapped in the job market primarily by immigrant status--language difficulties, late entrance to school and work, unfamiliarity with and rejection of British cultural and social tradition, conflicts between parental and school standards, and, in some cases unrealistic job aspirations. More recently, as immigration has been slowed down and more British-born colored young people have entered the job market, there has been a greater inclination to see their problems as stemming from discrimination and minority status (318; 282, 22; 304; 69,28; 936).

Of course, in Britain and elsewhere, handicaps and minority status show a marked overlap, since a disproportionate number of the handicapped are from racial or ethnic backgrounds which may also subject them to discrimination in the labor market. A joining of the two conditions into disadvantagement frequently appears in the literature. However, a sound basis exists for a separation of the two categories, because a majority of the handicapped come from the non-minority population and a majority of those suffering discrimination are not severely handicapped in the sense used here.

MINORITY STATUS

Youth from racial or ethnic minorities whose employment prospects are affected by discrimination have been a major concern in the United States, Austrailia, and Canada, where indigenous populations are the core of the problem, and in Great Britain, where the influx of Commonwealth citizens as permanent residents has raised new issues. Elsewhere, few deliberate programs have been mounted to favor the job placement of minority youngsters, either because their numbers are small, or it has seemed that foreign workers and their families would soon return home, or there is a failure to confront actual problems.

In Great Britain and the United States, considerable evidence is at hand to demonstrate that new entrants from minority groups find a higher proportion of their first jobs through the official methods than other new entrants do. A British national survey in 1973 of unemployed West Indian youth 16 to 25 years old disclosed that 31 percent had found their first jobs through the Careers Service (formerly Y.E.S.), in contast to 17 percent of white unemployed youth of the same age (936, 16; 304). Earlier, a House of Commons Select Committee had reported that colored school-leavers in many communities obtained a much larger share of their first jobs through the official methods, especially the Y.E. O., than did other youngsters (318, vol. 2,3). In 1969 in Huddersfield, a textile town, the Y.E.O. placed over 85 percent of the new entrants of West Indian background, as well as 40 percent of the boys and 71 percent of the girls of Asian origins, all much higher rates than for British pupils. The lower rate for Asian boys was attributed to the large number who chose to join family businesses, particularly when they had language difficulties or were unable to satisfy their high job ambitions immediately (282, 24). Careers officers repeatedly stated that much greater effort was required to place immigrant than British school-leavers. Numerous submissions had to be made to employers, even when jobs were plentiful, in order to obtain the same jobs for immigrants that comparable British youngsters could obtain easily (318).

Frequently mixing new entrants with young job changers, American studies indicate that, within the sparse American use of the official placement methods, black youth find relatively more of their jobs than whites do through the public channels, including special community organizations (644, I, 100-104; 86, 74-83; 659, 34-35, 85; 665, 130-39; 629, 84; 652, Table A10). The survey of the high school graduates of 1972 indicates that 9 and 11 percent respectively of Hispanic and black graduates found their jobs through the public employment service, against 6 percent of the white graduates. A smaller gap, but in the same direction, appeared in regard to school and college placement services, which placed relatively more minority than white graduates

(864, 19). Saunders suggests that racial differences in job finding methods are reduced when the samples are standardized for educational level, social class, family income, and other significant variables (732, ch. 5, 6). So far as the limited information permits, one may conclude that, where countries have adopted a policy of aiding minority groups, the placement share of the official methods has responded accordingly.

The foregoing review of the slim evidence on subgroups discloses that unintended differences in the share of the official methods occur in some countries in regard to such categories as sex, size of community, and type of education. If industry and occupational placement data were tallied, further unintended differences might be uncovered. Perhaps the more significant finding is that in only a few countries do the official methods place a relatively high proportion of new entrants from the subgroups which require extra assistance--the younger entrants, the less well-educated, residents of areas with poor employment prospects, the handicapped, and racial and ethnic minorities facing discrimination. The official placement rate for the disadvantaged subgroups seems to be affected by the placement rate for all new entrants' first jobs. The adverse effects of a separation of clients as occurs in Britain, where school placements may cream off the best candidates, was stressed some years by the Youth Employment Service of the Inner London Education Authority:

> Success in placing the less fortunate often depends on being able to introduce to the employers a good cross section of the school leavers. Placing work, without this, is made more difficult and the less able and handicapped may suffer. (305a, 14-15).

While the provision of other services for the disadvantaged may require the establishment of separate agencies or divisions for such youth, placement appears to be best carried on without such a division. Thus, the United States, despite its greater concentration on disadvantaged youth than Japan, may have lower public placement rates for its disadvantaged youth than Japan, simply because Japan's overall placement rate for new entrants is so high. The high proportion of youth among the total placements by the public employment service in the United States (42 percent in 1974) is associated with a low overall penetration rate, not with a high share of all youth placements and especially not with a high share of the first full-time jobs of high school graduates or dropouts (21; 514, Jan. 1975, 9; 639; 727, 76-78, 88-90; 768, 15-16, 97-98; 766a).

WHEN FIRST JOBS ARE FOUND

It has been a commonplace assumption that new entrants, by definition, begin their search and find their first full-time jobs after they have left their educational institutions. On this basis, several analysis, especially in the United States, accept Kalachek's statement that "new entrants become unemployed as a matter of course when they initiate their job hunt" (443, 54). But many young people, seeking to avoid entrance unemployment and believing that their choice of jobs will not be widened by waiting for their separation from school, settle on a first full-time job some weeks or months before the end of their education. All who successfully prearrange jobs avoid entrance unemployment. Some of these young people engage in no job search at all, choosing from one or more acceptable jobs offered to them. The dimensions and policy implications of this aspect of job finding have been neglected.

Prearrangement of jobs occur in three main ways. First, employers actively recruit young people while they are still completing their education. Representatives make visits and hold recruiting sessions at colleges and universities or submit specific job vacancies to schools. Many British firms try to fill all of their apprenticeship posts by Easter, although the term ends in July and the young people will not begin to work until September, in most cases. Second, young people may continue in jobs they held on a part-time basis while they attended school, college, or university and are thus able to avoid job search. Third, some new entrants actively canvass potential employers and line up their first jobs before school ends. It may not be accidental that two of the countries which have paid considerable attention to prearrangement, Japan and Great Britain, also are among the leaders in the proportion of new entrants placed through the public channels.

In general, the statistical evidence is scanty on the new entrants who have jobs ready before they leave educational institutions. There seems to be considerable variation from country to country, at the different educational levels, over the business cycle, in the way in which jobs are prearranged and in the role of the public placement channels in prearranging the jobs. Two American surveys with information about recent recipients of baccalaureate and advanced degrees disclosed that more than half of those with jobs had prearranged their jobs before terminating their studies and most had no entrance unemployment; job search in the traditional sense was an issue for a minority at a time when the unemployment rate among those with higher education was rising (955, Table 4; 651, Table 4). Other studies showed almost as high proportions of prearrangement among those American junior college and high school graduates who took occupational courses (760, 76-78, 226-28). A nationwide 1963 survey of youth with no more than three years of college indicated that over one-fourth had jobs waiting when they left school. Males, whites, and those with four years of high school or more had higher rates of prearrangement than females, nonwhites, and high school dropouts (652, Table B-10).

Other countries have equalled or exceeded the American rate of prearrangement. In Japan, prearrangement has been so taken for granted that it is expected that the great majority of graduates at all levels will be placed before they leave school. In the 1950s and 1960s, from more than 60 percent to more than 90 percent of new entrants leaving each level of education had jobs by graduation time each year. University graduates and youngsters of 15 completing lower secondary school showed the highest advance placement rates, followed by senior high school and junior college graduates. In 1967, 93 percent of university graduates and 82 percent of junior college graduates had prearranged jobs (423, 96; 591, 158; 889, 71). In some western European countries (West Germany, Switzerland), prearrangement has been common for a large proportion of school-leavers who enter apprenticeships. But Great Britain's high rate of prearrangement among young school-leavers, detailed below, has been only partially due to apprenticeship, since few girls have entered apprenticeship but many have prearranged jobs.

Breakdowns of prearranged jobs by type--employer recruitment, conversion of existing jobs, or lining up in advance--are available only for the recent American degree recipients. Averaging the results of two surveys, it appears that the most common method has been to remain in jobs held while studying, followed closely by lining up jobs in advance. A much smaller proportion report that they have obtained their jobs without looking, which includes employer recruitment (955, Table 4; 651, Table 4). Additional evidence on each of the three sources of prearrangement is available. Solicitation by employers of young people before they leave high school is not a major source of prearranged employment in the United States, nor is direct recruitment before the end of compulsory education important in Great Britain except for apprentices.

However, in such countries as Japan, Switzerland, West Germany, and Austria, employers--especially in periods of labor shortage--try to recruit school-leavers directly. Competition among employers may make them overeager. Fearing that the employment service would not satisfy their needs, Austrian employers have appealed to individual parents and to schools to send youngsters to their firms, although the schools are forbidden by law to engaged in placement (608, 21). In Japan during the buoyant 1960s, one of the tasks of the employment service (PESO) was to police employer recruiting and to prevent employers, who, confronting a "greatly intensified competition among enterprises to hire young workers," tried to lure youngsters into jobs before they had completed their schooling (603, 81-82). The extent of early employer solicitation of new entrants is so highly dependent on economic conditions, demographic factors, training arrangements, and local traditions that it cannot be urged on all countries as a viable policy for easing the transition, although it serves that purpose very well.

The conversion of jobs held during the final school years into first entry jobs seems to be more prevalent in the United States than in other countries, reflecting the more advanced age of leaving school, the less demanding school schedule, the acceptability of an interrupted or part-time educational pattern, and the availability of part-time work. Surveys of minimum age school-leavers in Great Britain estimated that only 2.5 to 5 percent continue work with the same employer they served part-time before leaving school (321, 134; 844, ch. 5; 510, 107; 104, 161, 164, 166). A local Canadian study found 5 percent of school-leavers moving from part-time to full-time work with the same employer, usually in unskilled or semiskilled work (333, app. 3, Table 5). This tendency was confirmed by a British study; in 1968-69, only 1 percent of the boys entering nonmanual jobs and 2 percent going into manual apprenticeships, but 8 percent in the lowest category (manual nonapprenticeship), converted part-time to full-time jobs (844, ch. 5). In countries where family farms or businesses still are significant sources of economic activity, such enterprises may offer new entrants full-time jobs which they have previously held as part-time or seasonal work. In addition, some youngsters who have had no prior acquaintance with a family business may be taken in after they leave school. Though statistically unimportant, this is another situation where no job search is necessary and the transition is smooth.

With the prolongation of basic education and the recent expansion of higher education in European countries, one may foresee an increased amount of part-time and vacation work as well as part-time education, all of which are conducive to the conversion of jobs held while at school. However, if it is true in other countries, as it is in Canada and Britain, that those young school-leavers who remain with their school-year employers tend to cluster at the low end of the occupational scale, this type of prearrangement might appear less attractive. But the critical issue is whether the same group would have improved their job choices if they had found alternative jobs. If not, the benefits of prearrangement through a reduced duration of entry unemployment justify encouragement of such conversion of part-time jobs.

The final method of prearrangement by which postschool job search and entrance unemployment are avoided is the deliberate lining up of a new job during the final months of school. This method, already highly developed in some countries, offers the greatest opportunity for replication. The cases of Japan and Great Britain are illustrative. Prearrangement in Japan has derived from a deliberate attempt to organize the youth labor market in the face of several long-run trends. After the completion of postwar reconstruction in the 1950s, rapid technological change and expansion in the mass production industries created a vast demand for young, inexperienced workers. They were and are prized because their total wage payment, in the complicated Japanese system, is lower than that of older workers in the same jobs but with more years of seniority in the company. In the 1960s, the demand for young workers continued to grow, while demographic and educational trends diminished the supply fresh from school (688). These circumstances placed great pressure on the public authorities to intervene in this special labor market, and the system devised has insured a high rate of prearrangement.

At the beginning of each fiscal year, the Japanese employment service (PESO), which devotes a large share of its resources and personnel to new school graduates, asks employers to submit their recruitment plans for this group for one year ahead. These plans are coordinated by PESO with data obtained in May about the number and quality of the pupils who expect to seek jobs after completing school the following March. On the basis of this information, employers may be advised to revise their plans. By the beginning of June, job openings for nine months hence begin to arrive at PESO offices and schools, which work closely and harmoniously together. Both offer employment counseling to pupils, take selected groups to visit employers, and begin placements several months before graduation (618, 19, 134-35; 122, 195-96.)

In many of the high schools, especially the technical and commercial schools, all senior class members, early in the year are given access to "recruit books." These, as Charles Odell described it to the author,

> ...are books of full page ads and descriptions of employment opportunities of all the major companies that are twice as thick as the New York City phone book. The ads are paid for by the companies and are published by two private publishers.
>
> The senior students are permitted to browse through the Recruit Books and to indicate their employer preferences to the Counselor, who is really a Vice Principal in charge of Placement. He or she in turn schedules employer interviews for students. In the technical and commercial high schools that I visited, the counselor claimed that he already knew where each senior was going to work or alternatively to college, and this is six months in advance of graduation.

Japan's simultaneous survey of the demand and supply situation of new school graduates and its attempt to reconcile them would be noteworthy even if the attempt occurred only after graduation. But for present purposes the timing is of special interest because of its contribution to prearrangement and the minimization of entry unemployment. It depends, of course, on a heavy demand for young workers, employer cooperation with PESO rules, coordination of school closing and employer recruitment dates, and employer willingness to train young, inexperienced workers just out of school.

British prearrangement has, by contrast, been a highly individual matter and has been documented in a number of national and local surveys. A retrospective national sample survey, which gave data for each year of the period 1953-62, showed a distinct upward trend in the share of school-leavers who had jobs set in advance; the lowest proportion was for 1955 (25 percent) and the highest was for 1962 (45.2 percent). The rising trend was not affected by temporary increases in unemployment rates or the "bulge" of 15-year-olds in 1962 (350, 46-47). Another national survey in England and Wales in February 1966 showed that 36.2 percent of 15-year-olds who were to leave school several months later already had jobs lined up (321, 134). The longitudinal study in England and Wales by Thomas and Wetherell found that half of the sample of 15-to 16-year-old boys claimed to have jobs arranged in advance of leaving in 1968-69 (843, 191; 844, ch. 3). In a local study, Carter discovered that over half of his Sheffield sample had located jobs before leaving school in 1959; most of the prearrangement occurred within two weeks of the end of the term (104, 165, 170-74). Maizels also found that about half of her 1966 Willesden sample obtained their first jobs while still at school (510, 118, 141). Both of the local areas had a great surplus of appropriate job vacancies in relation to the number of school-leavers. It is not known how a high rate of unemployment among school-leavers in recent years has affected prearrangement.

Thomas and Wetherell reported that only 3 percent of the boys had no specific job in mind as they prepared to leave school. The half who claimed to have jobs fixed up had little entrance unemployment; 90 percent of them experienced no entry unemployment at all, against 71 percent of the entire group. And only 2 percent of the prearrangers took over one month in the search for a new job, against 11 percent of the whole group. Apparently, some of those who thought they had prearranged their jobs were disappointed or changed their minds, since all prearrangers might have been expected to report no entry unemployment. It is also possible that delays in beginning the job were reported as unemployment, but Thomas and Wetherell found other evidence which suggested that as many as one-third of those who claimed to have jobs prearranged may not have entered them (843, 187; 844, ch. 2, 3).

Having determined that prearrangement of jobs was far from random, Thomas and Wetherell observed that progress toward obtaining employment before the end of school "seems to be largely a function of certain key combinations of individual characteristics and environmental circumstances" (843, 187). The boys who prearranged jobs tended to come from the more advantaged sector of the early school-leavers. In terms of academic ability, number of examinations taken, family background, attitudes toward employment, and teacher ratings on social maturity and cooperativeness, the boys who arranged jobs in advance ranked higher than those who did not. Attendance at the type of school where the vast majority of pupils expected to leave early was associated with a high level of job arranging.

Boys who lived in areas of high demand for labor also tended to apply for and obtain relatively more jobs before leaving school than those whose areas had fewer vacancies in relation to the number of school-leavers; the percentage with jobs lined up in the 10 areas of the survey ranged from 66 to 20, with a national average of 50. Interestingly, Thomas and Wetherell found that the boys who lived in the areas which were classified as "hard" for employment also had less academic potential than the rest, by several measures. They also had somewhat inferior schools, judged by the availability of comprehensive schools or selective grammer and technical schools (843, ch. 6, 7). Although the sampling method has not permitted easy generalization about regional difference in the country as a whole, Thomas and Wetherell have opened up the thorny issue of the interface of natural ability, social class, out-migration of the more able, and educational and employment opportunities in economically disadvantaged areas.

Nationally, the least able boys, as rated by their teachers, were most likely to have made no practical move at all towards finding a job and to hold job aims which were unrealistic in terms of their actual first jobs. Those who did not prearrange jobs lost out in two ways. They suffered more entry unemployment than the prearrangers, and they accepted first jobs with lower prestige and pay than the prearrangers obtained. Those who prearranged came closer to realizing the type of job they had aimed at than the nonarrangers. Before school ended, those who had not fixed up jobs appeared to be more ambitious and less willing to settle for unskilled or laborers' jobs. But their reluctance or inability to line up jobs in advance resulted in a worse selection of first jobs than the prearrangers faced, and, in fact, may have confined some of the leavings of the prearrangers (844, ch. 2,3). There was reason to believe that they might have done better in regard to entry unemployment and possibly in the selection of jobs if they had lined up jobs while still in school.

The boys who prearranged their jobs in 1968-69 relied much less on the official placement service (then called the Youth Employment Service) than did those who first looked for work after leaving school (844, ch. 4). This confirmed a similar finding in the 1966 national survey (321, 134). While less than one-fourth of the boys who had no entry unemployment in 1968-69 (largely but not wholly because of prearranged jobs) credited the Y.E.S. with responsibility for leading them to their first job, two-fifths of the boys who had some unemployment acknowledged this source. Personal contacts were by far the most important source of prearranged jobs and were a relatively more important job source for prearrangers than for those who waited to make the job search until after they left school (844, ch. 4).

Since personal influence probably is a potent factor in prearranging prized jobs such a apprenticeships, earlier and increased placement activity by the official service may not succeed in offsetting the prearrangement advantage enjoyed by pupils whose personal contacts open the doors to certain preferred jobs. However, the influence of the official placement agency on prearrangement may be understated if the analysis is confined to placement activities, since earlier information and counseling activities in the schools may stimulate interest in lining up jobs before the end of school, although the jobs are obtained without official placement aid.

This examination of how new entrants obtain jobs by prearrangement has been motivated by empirical evidence of its prevalence, its relative neglect in other analyses, and its potential for easing the transition and reducing entry unemployment. If further research demonstrates that the jobs which are arranged before education ends (whether through employer recruitment, continuation in jobs held while in school or college, or lining up jobs) are as good or better than those the same group would secure if they delayed or extended the job search, a good case can be made for starting placement efforts somewhat earlier than at present, paying particular attention to disadvantaged pupils. However, countries that foster prearrangement may be disappointed in the results if they count solely on a deliberate effort by the official placement agencies. Much depends on society's basic attitudes toward work, the views of young people and their parents on a prompt start, the timing of the end of the school term, the attitudes of trade unions and employers toward making commitments to young people in advance, and the state of labor demand. In any case, prearrangement should not be sponsored to the detriment of other objectives, such as freedom of choice and time to search for a job. Care also should be taken that an emphasis on prearrangement does not push young people toward jobs while they are still considering additional education or training.

WHY PUBLIC PLACEMENT RATES DIFFER

It is to be expected that the aims, functions, scale of effort, and form of organization of the public channels would affect both the proportion of first full-time job placements acheived by the official sources and their role in prearranging first jobs. Countries' policies vary as to the desired share of placements which public channels should achieve. Proponents of official placement methods seek powerful employment services which "do everything possible to ensure that the maximum number of employers and workers make use of their services" (609, 233). Implicitlv, the goal appears to be at least a majority of all placements for the public channels. In 1975, as one measure against rising youth unemployment, Britain's Department of Employment created 200 additional careers officer and employment assistant posts on a direct grant basis, but in other countries placement staff, burdened by unemployment insurance claims, was cut.

Answering a questionnaire at the end of 1974, French youth indicated that they considered "aiding youth to find a first job" the most important function of the public services. A confederation of French trade unions has proposed that all schools should transmit complete records on each school-leaver to the employment service (133). Such transmission of records already is provided in several countries, but pupils need not use the official placement service. In Luxembourg, placement of apprentices by the vocational advisory service of the National Labor Office is compulsory (619, 54). A certain amount of compulsion exists in the common requirement that claimants for unemployment insurance or assistance benefits must register at the employment service and accept reasonable job offers.

Differences are visible among countries in regard to the division of official placement services between new entrants and others, the weight given to first versus subsequent placements of youth, the emphasis on designated segments of youths versus the entire youth population, and the attitude toward serving employers versus serving the clients. Unintended interference with the placement function can result from pressures on a limited staff to perform other duties, such as paying unemployment insurance or distributing other economic benefits, providing information or guidance, and offering remedial or employability services. But it also is possible that a deliberate downgrading of the importance of placements in favor of other labor market objectives will affect the proportion of public placements. An emphasis on provision of information and a disregard for placement statistics has attended the institution of self-service public employment service activities, compulsory notification of vacancies, computerization, data banks, and other modern innovations. Recognition of the segmentation of labor markets and the barriers which prevent even the most efficient public channels from making certain types of placements has reoriented the thinking about the importance of comprehensive services and high placement ratios.

A growing realization that situations of very tight or very slack labor markets are adverse to effective public placement activity has been another influence. After an intensive study of the British youth employment situation and many interviews with Youth Employment Officers in the early 1960s, Zeisel concluded that the placement service could have a significant effect in reducing both the amount and duration of unemployment in areas with a nearly balanced demand-supply picture, but there would be little effect in areas of very low or very high unemployment (958). This is essentially the position taken recently by an OECD Working Party on the public employment service (606; 607). There is also some differing evidence; ana analysis of American job-finding studies, relating primarily to job changers of all ages and covering the period 1930-64, revealed that the share of the public employment service was considerably higher where tight labor markets prevailed than where high unemployment existed (502, 93-95). More information from additional countries is required on this point.

All of these factors and others lead employment services in some countries to stress a range of labor market activities which are not undertaken at all by the unofficial channels. The public employment service becomes the chief labor market agency, and job placements may be only one of many tasks, in contrast to the role of the unofficial channels. This reordering of priorities is less likely to occur in countries where the employment service has a separate youth division and is strongly oriented towards serving youth, where educational institutions and individual teachers and professors account for a large share of official activity, or where there is a totally separate youth placement service.

Differences in the way placement services are organized and administered play a role in the share of placements they achieve. To begin with, a decision must be reached on whether the organization which has provided occupational guidance to young people leaving school should also be responsible for their initial placement. The most common answer is "no," with guidance reserved to organizations based on the schools and placement provided by a specialized manpower agency. Exceptions are countries which subcontract some of the stipulated manpower functions to the schools (Japan), leave the main responsibility for all transition functions to manpower officials (West Germany), or establish a specialized agency to carry out all services (Great Britain). American solutions, varying by local school districts and individual schools, are diverse. In some places schools do all the occupational counseling and placement; in others the employment service, either stationed in schools or not, has full responsibility; in still others, both schools and employment service are engaged bu uncoordinated in counseling and placement; elsewhere a strict sharing of functions may be found; and finally some schools or districts show very little activity of any kind. The operation of a cooperative agreement between the employment service and high schools led to some arrangements in abouthalf the nation's high schools in the early 1960's. Subsequently, due to other priorities established by law for the employment service, the number of schools served dropped. At present, legislative efforts are being made to revive this program, either through the employment service or the creation of a new youth employment service (766a).

Where the same organization provides both counseling and placement, a related issue is whether the same individual should perform both functions. In West Germany the Berufsberater of the Federal Labor Office gives information to groups, provide individual counseling, and place apprentices. In Great Britain where careers officers are responsible for occupational counseling, there is a division of opinion on whether placement should be done by the same person. In practice, many careers officers leave placement to their employment assistants or clerks. There is a running debate in Britain about the wisdom of the division, the actual and desirable relative importance in the Careers Service of counseling and placement, and the advisability of careers officers sharing guidance and placement functions with the schools and the newer careers teachers (232; 699, 93-102; 510, 122; 32, 69-70; 321, ch. 7; 97, Spring 1972, 12). It is likely that the high British official placement rate is postively related to the continuity of the counseling and placement functions within a single agency, which not only begins its work during the school years, but also receives full reports on all school-leavers.

It is sometimes argued that guidance will be more responsible if the same person also offers placement, avoiding problems of communication between different and often competing personnel. On the other side, it is claimed that guidance activities should concentrate on the clients' interests and desires and not be limited by conditions in the labor market which inevitably determine placements. Differences in the education, training, pay, and status of counselors and placement officers, with the latter generally at a lower level, also create tensions and stand in the way of dual functions. A recent report on Ireland's new National Manpower Service accepts that the educational system has a major duty in counseling, calls for distinct placement officers attached to the Manpower Service, and asks for cooperation between the two types of officials (617, 42-43). Having recognized the inherent difficulties of establishing cooperative action between counselors and placement officers, even when they are in the same agency, it is all the more important to provide for close relationships when separate agencies are involved, as they are in many countries.

In general, high public placement rates for new entrants seem to be associated with a specialized youth section or division of the general employment service, as in Japan or Germany, or with a separate agency, as in Great Britain. To be sure, Sweden's all-age placement service gives evidence that a strong agency without a youth specialization can achieve relatively high placement shares. But Swedish youth have reportedly been dissatisfied with the absence of special treatment and especially with the pure self-service system; some youth sections and specialized officers have been established recently as youth unemployment has mounted. The particular combination of schools and employment service in Japan is effective because of national legislative provision and good cooperative relationships.

The case against independent placement by the schools, especially by individual schools as in many American communities, is widely recognized. But recent American emphasis, both in vocational and academic courses, has been oriented toward placement by schools more than by the employment service. Vocational schools wish to make their own placements, not only to aid individual graduates, but also to provide feedback for evaluating and planning programs. A fillip has been given to school placement offices by the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 which provide financial support, and by the Career Education movement which furnishes moral imperatives in such brochures as Placement: The Ultimate Test of a School's Commitment to its Students (444). Florida has encouraged placement offices in local school systems. An official report on one Florida county states that although each senior high school has its own placement specialist and each junior high school has an occupational specialist, only 14 percent of graduates and dropouts who were employed at the survey time had obtained their jobs through the state-financed service. Of the 23,000 graduates and dropouts in 1976, less than 5 percent were placed by the school specialists in part-time or full-time jobs (544a; 864a; 766a).

Little attention has been given to the emphasis on "youth" jobs or the competition for job openings which would prevail if all American schools entered a field which has thus far been explored by a small minority. The possibility that several different agencies may approach the same employer for vacancies, causing him to decide against listing any, is a potent reason to avoid duplication in official placement agencies and especially to restrain individual schools from setting up placement services which are independent of other schools, the local employment service, or a manpower office. Although the state employment service is available and cooperates with individual schools, it plays a small role in placing new entrants. American difficulties in public placements of new entrants arise from the absence of an integrated transition services agency and the heavy reliance on local schools which neither carry on an effective national placement program themselves nor direct young people to the employment service. While there are individual examples of successful or innovative programs, the overall picture is spotty and generally unfavorable.

A survey of school districts throughout the country in 1976 indicated that school placement services were available in 44 percent of all districts with 11th and 12th year students and that they covered two-thirds of all students in secondary schools. Most placement programs were started since 1971 and the newer ones had less connection with the local employment service than older programs; over half of the districts reporting were using only their own staff. Although almost all services made referrals to job openings and gave instruction in job search techniques, the crucial services of "job order taking,""placement followup" and "active job solicitation" were provided by only about three-fifths of the services. Rather meager use of these school placement services was made by the graduates, dropouts and students for whom they are intended; half of the school districts reported that less than 30 percent of the eligible users applied to the services (865a).

Differences in the qualifications, training, attitudes, status, and pay of the personnel engaged in placement and in the total expenditure on the placement activity probably affect the public placement rates; but too little placement activity probably affect the public placement rates; but too little is known about these factors, especially as they concern services for youth. More general aspects of employment service organization should be taken into account in judging comparative country performance--whether employers and trade unions play an active role in policymaking and administration, whether the employment service is part of an active manpower agency, whether a regular government department or a semi-independent agency is in charge, and whether the program is national or local (879a).

The acceptability of the public placement channels to employers and young people is a key factor in the placement rate, since there is little evidence that the unofficial job-finding methods--especially direct applications to employers and the aid of family and friends--are inherently more attractive sources in some countries than in others. Private employment agencies, whose presence and number vary from country to country, are quite unimportant in first job placements and can be discounted as an influence on the public share.

Underlying cross-national differences in specific attitudes toward the public placement channels are variations in attitudes toward public agencies and officialdom in general. A disposition to respect and use official agencies does seem more pronounced in some countries than others, just as certain countries seem more inclined than others to resort to official interventions. Acceptance of the official placement authorities in several countries--Japan, Sweden, Germany--appears to be related not only to national temperament but also to a sense of national purpose or social obligation which fosters conformity, acceptance of regulation, and limitations or bans on alternative channels. In turn, the designated agencies are better able to weather the initial period, to establish themselves without great variation from place to place, and to expand.

On the other hand, American surveys have "encountered some employers who object on principle to the government running an employment service" and job seekers who shun the official channels on similar grounds (676, 564). And it appears to be beyond dispute that "the values and sentiments now dominant in the United States" will not "support a general policy of compulsory job vacancy listing" (493, 55). Even in countries like Britain, where the youth placement rate is relatively high, adverse reactions are voiced. Some British employers feel that "if a child has got an ounce of guts in him he will find a job for himself--not expect a civil servant to arrange things for him" (105, 147-48). Moreover, some employers conclude that the official channels must be second rate because of the disparity between public officers' salaries compared to those in private industry. Compounding the problem, as Carter reported, some "boys and girls are instinctively suspicious of the Youth Employment Service because of its association with officialdom and 'them'" (105, 147-48). An even more resistant group has recently been identified (576q).

If public placement services must reckon with ideological and attitudinal undercurrents which they cannot control, they also are affected by the nature of the youth labor market. Employers are more apt to notify their vacancies and give serious consideration to the public channels when one or more of the following obtain: employers actively desire to recruit inexperienced young workers straight from school, trade unions are organized along company or industrial lines rather than in craft unions, apprenticeship and/or other formal training are offered, wage differentials by age exist, young workers are in short supply relative to other age groups, a high proportion of young people leave school at the minimum age, small firms with low skill jobs are relatively numerous, and there is a supply of traditional youth jobs which last a few years only.

The specific relations of employers to the public placement channels affect the volume of vacancies notified, the accuracy and comprehensiveness of job descriptions, and the willingness to interview and hire candidates referred by the official sources. Even countries with compulsory notification systems may not obtain all relevant vacancies or sufficient detail and certainly will not automatically improve their placement rates, since employers are not required to hire the applicants referred by the official channels. Usually, direct solicitation of employers by the official placement channels is instituted to increase the number of notified vacancies beyond those reported voluntarily. It has been the practice in Britan's Youth Employment Service (now Careers Service) to canvass local employers for vacancies immediately before the peak school-leaving periods, and recently industrial liaison officers have been appointed in some local offices. German officials who offer guidance and placement services to youngsters entering apprenticeship also seek out vacancies.

Several issues arise in the active collection of vacancies. A major problem concerns the varied functions of placement personnel. There is a persistent complaint in many countries that, when contacts with employers are left to those whose main responsibility is the placement of job seekers, the placement task tends to absorb most of the work time. The advent of self-service activities in employment service offices also has limited placement officers' contacts with employers mainly to job development for hard-to-place cases. Apart from job development for particular groups, an activity which is well advanced in many countries, the general outreach of employers tends to be somewhat haphazard, varying with work loads, administrative decisions, and individual proclivities. At times, special drives are launched to obtain vacancies, or labor management committees may be established for this and other purposes; in some countries, specialized officers are appointed to collect vacancies. Denmark has a crop of employment service officers, who represent about 10 percent of total staff, and whose only task is to visit, consult with, and persuade employers to list vacancies. Another, larger group of officers has as its sole function placement of job applicants (614, 33). Obviously, the efficacy of such a division of tasks depends on a close working relationship among specialized officers and a freedom from professional distrust or envy, conditions achieved more easily in small and socially advanced Denmark than in larger, less committed countries.

The Japanese system of obtaining vacancies for new entrants, described in the previous section on prearrangement, indicates how well voluntary arrangements can work. Probably in no other country, as Odell told the author, will a visitor see an employment service office crowded with employers seeking new school-leavers. However, the relation between Japanese employers and placement officials are unusual and may account for the high degree of compliance by employers. The latter have adapted to the traditional power of personal connections in Japan, the extreme shortage of labor in the 1960s, and the special role of new school-leavers in industrial recruitment (202, 75; 423, 117-19, 121). In practice, many employers have established private arrangements with placement officials of PESO and individual schools in order to fill their firm's needs for new recruits. Since each school, college, university, and firm has a definite social status in Japan, a matching usually occurs. Moreover, new firms are known to offer bribes to local employment service officers in order to obtain labor, and school counselor, having "strong ties with particular companies...may spend their summers visiting several companies, ostensibly to check on their former students, but...actually to go to make the rounds of company entertainment, picking up gifts along the way" (122, 190-91). How general this behavior has been and how it is affected by recession is not known. But its very existence must surprise westerners, who view placement officers not so much as incorruptible as too uninfluential to be worth corrupting.

The purpose of soliciting vacancies from employers is not only to increase the total number available, but also to produce a more varied occupational and industrial composition and particularly to acquire more vacancies at the higher occupational levels. In many countries, a recurrent complaint centers on the reluctance of employers to notify the employment service of categories of vacancies which they believe the employment service cannot fill and on the consequence decision by job seekers at that level not to seek jobs through the service. Virtually all employment services, including the separate British service and the specialized youth divisions in other countries, report this difficulty (207; 721; 722; 510; 104). At the more advanced educational levels, the establishment of a separate division of the public employment service, as in Britain's Professional and Executive Register, is one answer. It also is true that employers are more likely to report openings to placement services operated by colleges, universities, and specialized schools than to the public employment service.

An additional purpose of official contacts with employers is to increase the accuracy and detail about job openings so that agency referrals and the placement rate can be improved. Employers have been criticized almost everywhere for their poor performance on accuracy and detail, including charges that they notify the employment service as to nonexistent vacancies or types of job openings which are at variance with the jobs actually available. A follow-up in Britain of the persons hired through other sources to fill vacancies notified to the public employment service revealed that the qualifications of the new personnel did not match the job descriptions furnished earlier. This kind of discrepancy puts the official placement agencies at a disadvantage (516, 351-52, 356, 416).

Critics of employer performance maintain that the employment service should not wait passively to receive information, but must press employers for accurate and full details on vacancies. A leading Swedish manpower official admitted in 1970 that Sweden's famed public employment service provided "meager, dull and not particularly truthful" information about individual vacancies (593, 4-5). In no way implying that any other Swedish job information source is superior, this criticism of the employment service has signalled a campaign to improve performance and the adoption of compulsory notification of vacancies, a policy earlier instituted by Belgium and Luxembourg (826, 73-77, 98-112; 619, 46, 108; 491, 35). Compulsory or greatly increased vacancy notification is favored as a means of obtaining the labor market information required for manpower planning and policy and as an aid to the computerized and self-service information and placement activities of the employment service.

Although good explanations can be found, there has been concern in Sweden because a sharp decline occurred after 1964 in the absolute number of vacancies notified to the Swedish employment service at the same time as the number of applicants increased fourfold. Moreover, over recent years, whenever the unemployment level rose, the proportion of the unemployed using the employment service as a job source increased; and the composition of the registered unemployed shifted toward greater shares for youth, women, and white collar workers. The composition of notified vacancies, analyzed in 1974, did not sufficiently reflect the constant shift in employment from blue collar to white collar jobs, although, unlike other countries, the largest Swedish firms tend to report relatively more vacancies than do the smaller firms. Thus, the Swedish vacancy notification rate of 60 percent, high by international standards, seemed to be a reduction over previous years and an unsatisfactory position (826, 8-42, 95-96; 480, 63). By contrast, Frank Cassell, as director of the United States Employment Service in 1966-67, expressed satisfaction with a 1965 survey reporting that about 30 percent of all job vacancies, excluding domestic service, were listed with the employment service (107, 169; 879a).

Through compulsory notification of vacancies, Belgium and one Swedish country, where a brief experiment was conducted for six weeks in 1974 before the adoption of a gradual national policy of compulsion, were able in a short time to double the number of vacancies reported to the employment service, although they did not and are unlikely ever to achieve 100 percent notification (826, 74-92; 825; 816). Little is known about how a larger volume of vacancies affects the quality of vacancy information or the share of placements achieved by the official channels, particularly for the white collar, technical, and professional categories. Most countries are unlikely, except in national emergencies, to follow the mandated Belgian and Swedish method of increasing the number of vacancies notified to the E.S., although the recent American requirement that holders of government contracts must report their vacancies to the employment service goes a short way down the compulsory road. From July 1975 through March 1976, over 700,000 such vacancies were registered and 370,000 placements were claimed (951, Sept. 1976, 9).

Employers judge good service by the employment service not only in terms of referrals of several, but not too many, suitable candidates, but also in the speed and quality of referrals, the performance of new hires, and their tenure. Job applicants measure the official channels by their treatment at the offices and by the number and type of jobs offered. Although complaints about the public methods as well as the unofficial placement methods are common everywhere, and no doubt there is room for improvement, hard data are lacking on the differences among countries. It seems likely that there is substantial intercountry variation in the degree of approval of the day-to-day operations of the public agencies as voiced by employers and job seekers, and that these views have a definite influence on the placement share of the public and private channels. The explanation of the differences among countries in the share of placements is necessarily complex and has not been exhaustively treated here, since the emphasis is on first and early jobs. It is now necessary to inquire into the outcomes of different methods of finding jobs, as chapter 9 will do.

CHAPTER 9. PLACEMENT OUTCOMES

Having explored some of the factors which explain how and why the shares of the official channels in the placement of new entrants vary among countries, we now must ask what difference a high or low share of public placements makes to the individual and the economy. Do the new entrants who find their jobs through the official methods in fact benefit in comparison with others and in what ways?

It is assumed by its proponents that public placements will be superior to other job finding methods in shortening the duration of job search, filling employers' vacancies more promptly, placing people in more productive and satisfying work than they would otherwise find, securing jobs for the less employable, improving the grographic mobility of workers, extending the area of recruitment, reducing the cost and effort of search for workers and employers, and generally benefiting the economy by a higher national output and a more efficient distribution of the labor force. Specifically for youth entering their first jobs, advocates of the official services claim that these sources offer a wider and better choice of employment than would otherwise be available and are thus able to shorten entrance unemployment, reduce excessive or random job changing, offset the tendency of children to follow their parents' occupations, effect a closer fit between job aspirations and actuality, and obtain a greater conformity to guidance recommendations (842, 174-8; 538; 902; 746; 387; 493, 1-7; 609, 153-72; 298, 6; 305a, 14-5).

An American admirer of the British specialized placement service for youth has stated the position clearly:

> The single most effective way of reducing unemployment among new entrants as well as improving the quality of first jobs would probably be the establishment of a special Youth Employment Service...The knowledge that everyone entering the labor force is seen by the Youth Employment Service would encourage employers to list jobs that are not now given to the regular Employment Service. If those leaving school are more aware of the options open to them, they are more likely to find a job with which they will be satisfied. They will not only find a better job in this way, but will also be less likely to leave that job in an illustory hope of improving their position (220, 10-11).

Moreover, some argue, such a public service, whether all-age or for youth alone, need not constitute a financial burdent to government. The cost of free public placement services may be offset by increased output and productivity, enlarged tax revenues, and reduced government expenditures on unemployment compensation, welfare, and social programs. Thirlwall suggests that so long as benefits exceed costs, public placement activity should be expanded. Benefits are defined as the daily output produced by publicly placed workers, after allowing for a return to invested capital. Cost of placement should be measured in terms of a target rate of return on government placement expenditures, reflecting the opportunity costs of resources. On various assumptions about the costs of placement and the extra product to be realized from speedier placements, Thirlwall calculates the number of days by which job search must be shortened in order for benefits to exceed cost (842, 174-6).

Those who urge the advantages of the public placement channels usually compare them favorably with other methods of finding jobs, but, more importantly, they stress the associated manpower functions which are beyond the capacity or responsibility of the alternate and unofficial methods. In this sense, the argument rarely is joined between the proponents and the doubters who are most vocal in the United States and Great Britain. Drawing on different assumptions and philosophies, the critics center the discussion on placement itself, espouse the benefits of varied methods of finding jobs, and criticize the performance of the public channels. The proponents tend to reject the last item, arguing that findings adverse to the public channels are not evidence of inherent weakness but arise from inadequate financing and scope, operations at less than full efficiency, and an accertion of past weaknesses resulting in a poor public image.

Mindful of the nonplacement economic and social functions of some of the official placement agencies (placements by schools or teachers have fewer such associated activities than other official sources), the present review of evaluation studies limits itself to the placement function. The remainder of this chapter, focusing mainly but not exclusively on new entrants, examines the performance of the various job finding methods in reference to certain specific hypotheses. If the public channels are superior, it might be expected that, compared to others who have used the unofficial methods, those who have found their first and early full-time jobs through the official agencies will have:

less entry and turnover unemployment.
a longer tenure in the early jobs.
a more considered choice of their first jobs.
a better and wider choice, resulting in a higher quality of first and early jobs.

In addition, it might be anticipated that disadvantaged new entrants will receive more help from official than from other channels and that the public channels will produce greater manpower efficiency in the economy than the other methods.

What is the evidence on each of these points? In the nature of the case, it is somewhat easier to analyze the outcomes of placement services, according to their designation as official or unofficial, than it is to distinguish between the effects of official and unofficial information and counseling services, as chapters 5 and 6 attempted to do. But it is still necessary to issue a blanket warning about the paucity of studies on the impact of the placement services and the deficiencies of the analytic procedures in the available studies. Two persistent difficulties are encountered: the failure to hold other factors constant and the uncertainty about an independent effect of the job-finding method on the several dimensions of the labor market experience of new entrants.

ENTRANCE AND TURNOVER UNEMPLOYMENT

Some analysts, chiefly American, have approached the subject of entrance and turnover unemployment through theoriest of job search (663; 532; 559; 324; 139, 45; 335; 45; 46). Others have analyzed it by exploring a list of the possible influences, and among the latter, the schema of Dalal and Stevens are particularly comprehensive (153; 768). Obviously, the method of finding first and early jobs can be only a minor factor in an explanation of the frequency and duration of entrance and turnover unemployment. It is, nevertheless, customary to expect that the public placement agencies will demonstrate their efficacy by producing a shorter period of unemployment than other job-finding methods. Beyond shortening the duration of entrance and turnover unemployment, an effective public employment service might also be expected to reduce the number of young people who delay or fail to seek jobs at all, become discouraged and give up the search, or, as in the American central cities, resort to illegal activities as an alternative or supplement to work.

Some caveats are in order regarding the objective of minimizing entry and turnover unemployment through official placement methods. It is possible that an emphasis on speed in placement may lead to an unsatisfactory job and further turnover and unemployment later on. Acknowledging this danger, the Swedish Labour Market Board deplores excessive haste to find new jobs for workers whose companies curtail operations or go out of business. Because rapid placement by the employment service may deprive workers of a free choice of job and because extra search time is desired, the Swedes propose a more prolonged liquidation of businesses plus a guaranteed income during the adjustment and search period (768, 13; 593, 1-2).

Dedication to the greatest possible speed in filling vacancies and placing job seekers can have other undesirable effects (334, 664-5). An effective public placement service in a full or overfull employment economy may encourage hypermobility, as the Swedish Labour Market Board found in periods of high labor demand (593, 4). Workers may be induced to change jobs by the availability of good information and placements. Or it can interfere with regional development plans by stimulating workers to leave such areas and take jobs in the overcrowded areas, as is conceded might happen in Great Britain (843, 177). Paradoxically, the more successful the employment service is in advertising job opportunities in times or places of labor scarcity, the greater the risk that the placement service will trigger individual decisions to make job changes which run counter to an optimal distribution and utilization of the labor force. Open job listings, placement offices which are open evenings or weekends, and similar actions to accommodate job seekers may be counterproductive in part.

Along somewhat different lines, Stevens asks whether a reduction in the duration of unemployment for those who are placed by the public services may be at the expense of an increased duration for other job seekers. Is it a desirable outcome if the public channels, making only a portion of the placements, redistribute unemployment rather than reduce net unemployment? Should this type of redistribution be used to favor the high risk groups or the disadvantaged (768, 12-4)? Hall raises another objection to a public policy to minimize the duration of unemployment, arguing that, to operate efficiently, the economy requires a reserve of labor as it does of other resources (335, 739-42). Despite such public policy reservations about the objective of curtailing entrance unemployment, it continues to hold a high value for individuals.

To begin with, what is known about the duration of unemployment of new entrants? This subject, incidentally, should not be confused with the division of youth unemployment into component parts where entrance unemployment is one form. To discuss the unemployment of new entrants requires either a follow-up study of a cohort leaving a given stage of education or a retrospective inquiry about the duration of entrance unemployment; and both methods must include those who have had no unemployment at all. Of the two survey methods, the first is preferable for accuracy and currency. But there are aspects of the labor market behavior of new entrants which complicate interpretations of the duration of entrance unemployment within a country as well as between countries. Some new entrants acheive brief entrance unemployment by not caring what kind of first job they accept, but others are very dilatory and half-hearted in their search. Some deliberately remain unemployed until they obtain a specific type and level of work, while others end their unemployment by accepting jobs they consider unsuitable and temporary, continuing a search for the desired jobs.

Table 9.1 and 9.2 present the results for four countries of give retrospective and four follow-up surveys, which show the duration of unemployment for new entrants. Comparisons of this kind among countries are difficult and contentious, as various cross-national studies of unemployment indicate (228; 229; 44; 46; 385; 675). Despite some definitional and methodological differences which impair intercountry comparability and despite inherent problems in measuring the stated date and duration of job search by new entrants, the results are interesting. National patterns of unemployment duration for new entrants vary considerably, even when demographic and labor market conditions are roughly similar. The most conspicuous difference among the countries, as indicated by Table 9.1 and 9.2, is in the proportions either having no entrance unemployment or having six months or more of search time. As was indicated in the previous

Table 9.1 Percentage of Youth in the United States Experiencing Various Durations of Unemployment Prior to First Job

Year of Entrance Age Group Surveyed Education Level	1972-73[a] 16-24 All	1972[b] All College & Above	1971[c] 18-34 College & Above	1950-63[d] 16-21 Below College Grad.
Search Time				
None	48.6	52.4	57.2	27.8
Under 5 Weeks		17.4	20.6	29.4
5-14 Weeks	33.1	19.7	15.9	10.1
15-26 Weeks	11.2	7.1	3.5	4.1
27-39 Weeks	3.8	3.4	2.8	2.9
40 Weeks or More	3.3			
No Job Sought or Still Searching	...	...	...	24.9
No Answer				0.6

Sources:

[a] 871, unpublished table.

[b] 955, Table 4.

[c] 651, Table 4.

[d] 652, Table Bl.

Table 9.2 Percentage of Youth in Great Britain, France and Canada Experiencing Various Durations of Unemployment Prior to First Job.

Country Year of Entrance Age Group Surveyed Education Level	Great Britain[a] 1968-69 15-16 Lower Secondary	Great Britain[b] 1953-63 15 & Over All	France[c] 1965-73 16-24 To Upper Secondary	France[d] 1955-64 15-24 To Upper Secondary	Canada[e] 1955-61 21 Below College
Search Time					
None	71	37	35[1]	53	
Under 1 Month	18	48	28		89
1-3 Months		8	23	27	6
3-6 Months	11	2	7	8	1
6-12 Months		2	4	4	2
Over 1 Year		2	3	5	1

Sources:

[a] 844, unpublished Table 3.1

[b] 350, 46. Average of annual statistics

[c] 135, 123.

[d] 47, 40.

[e] 333, Table 24.

[1] Includes unemployment of less than one week.

chapter, the prearrangement of jobs before the end of schooling is the chief factor in the category "no unemployment." While direct placement activities account for only part of the prearrangement in most countries, the description of the Japanese system in chapter 8 has indicated how important the official authorities can be when underlying conditions are favorable. The British evidence suggests that the activities of the Careers Service contribute to prearrangement, although its placement apparatus is not heavily involved.

At the other end of the scale, under quite similar basic economic circumstances, prolonged entrance unemployment is more prevalent among French than among British new entrants, especially among those with minimal academic credentials. It would, of course, require an intensive inquiry to determine what part of the difference in national patterns is attributable to the fact that British transition services for youth, including placement, have been established longer and have been far more active than French. The available information suggests that the segment of new entrants especially prone to long entrance unemployment has been better served by the British than by the French official placement services.

The significant influence of economic conditions on the ability of new entrants to avoid initial unemployment is indicated by cross-sectional data from a British study in 1968-69 of 15-to-16-year-old entrants in 10 areas with varying youth employment conditions. In a situation where the placement services did not vary much in staffing or activity from area to area, the proportion of boys who had no entrance unemployment ranged from 47 percent to 88 percent, with a national average of 70 percent (844, ch. 3).

While behavioral differences in job search are observed among individuals at the same educational level, the most common variation is among groups whose educational attainment and occupational aims differ. In many countries the average duration of entrance unemployment rises as the educational level of the new entrants increases, but in the United States and Canada, where the youth unemployment problem is most severe among dropouts or the least educated, this relation does not always obtain.

British survey data show that 16 percent of 15-to-16-year-old school leavers who found white collar jobs had over one month of entrance unemployment, compared with 10 percent of the boys who found the lowest level of manual jobs. Similarly, the boys who took more than one month to find their first jobs changed jobs less frequently in the first 18 months than did the boys who located jobs more quickly (884, ch. 3). A sample of young people who completed the Higher National Diploma in Business Studies had a long average duration of entrance unemployment than did the 15-to-16-year-old boys (154, 21, 77). Recent data on university graduates indicates that they had a higher percent of unemployment six months after taking their degrees than did less educated entrans (292, 6, 8). American data for a national sample of young people who went to work directly after completing various types of education demonstrate that the average duration of entrance unemployment was longest for those leaving the high school academic program. High school vocational graduates, junior college graduates, and those leaving post-high school vocational programs followed, in order of decreasing length of entrance unemployment (760, 169; 665, 144-7).

A rare inquiry which examines the method of obtaining a job and the duration of job search indicates no clear relationship between them. The slightly poorer performance of the official methods may be attributable to a delay by job seekers in approaching official sources while they explore other search methods; in the case of jobs obtained through one official method, Civil Service tests, a longer than average wait for a job to materialize could be expected (872, Table G-3). General skill in job seeking is another factor which affects the duration of unemployment, and it is a skill which apparently can be taught. In an experiment using a matched control group, a job-finding club, the first of several, has recently been established in an American town. The experimental group is instructed in such matters as preparing a resume, interview behavior, personal appearance, flexibility in requirements, and using leads to jobs. Those who have been trained have taken two weeks on average to find jobs while the control group has taken eight weeks, and the experimental group also has obtained higher paying jobs (578d; 575).

Another way of looking at entrance unemployment is as a part of all youth unemployment, which arises also from loss of a job, leaving a job, or reentrance to the labor market. A comparison of Swedish and American unemployment data for 1972, collected in very similar fashion in each country, indicates that entrance unemployment among youth was more important in the U.S. than in Sweden (see Table 9.3). In Sweden, which had a lower overall unemployment rate (2.7 percent versus 5.6 percent in the U.S.) and a lower share of teenagers in total unemployment (17.8 percent versus 26.9 percent in the U.S.), unemployed youth were more likely than American unemployed youth to be job leavers, about as likely to be job losers, and less likely to be entrants or reentrants to the labor market.

Working further with American data, Perry concluded that the difference between the unemployment rates of teenagers or young adults, on the one hand, and those of 25-to 59-year-old white men, on the other, could be attributed more to the higher proportion of new entrants in the youth labor force than to their unemployment experience as entrants or reentrants and still more to the frequency and duration of unemployment among teenage and young adult job losers and job leavers. In other words, entrance unemployment was not unusually long for youthful new entrants as compared to other age groups (656, 271-75).

However, unemployment is not an inevitable consequence of losing or leaving a job, although American analysis have frequently assumed this (849, 6). Survey findings have shown that large proportions of job changers of all ages in many countries began their job search while still employed and that a substantial share of seekers experienced no unemployment between jobs (528; 529; 219, 728-29; 350, Tables 63, 71, 95). A national sample survey of American workers have changed jobs only once during 1961, a year of high unemployment, revealed that 60 percent of all workers and 65 percent of the 18-to-24-year-old group had no unemployment between jobs (41, 3). In an analysis of the methods used by American workers to find jobs in 1972, it was established that 48.7 percent of all job changers and 51.2 percent of the 16-to-24-year-old group started to search while still employed. Those who left voluntarily were more likely to begin the job search while still employed than were those who were laid off or dismissed. Of the whole group searching before the job ended, voluntary quitters constituted almost three-fifths. The tendency to delay the start of the search was more pronounced among older job searchers; a desire for time off was the single most important reason for delaying the search in all age groups (872, Table 7, f1, f2, f3).

Much of the time, it is not true to say, as Kalachek has, that "the majority of job seekers seek from the less comfortable vantage point of unemployment" (443, 54). Nor do unpublished data of the National Longitudinal Survey of young men support the strong statement of Parnes and his associates that "the transition from one employer to another rarely is accomplished without some loss of work time; even most voluntary job shifts are the result of a search process which is seldom conducted while working" (644, IV, 72-4). And there is reason to doubt a more general formulation by Barrett and Morganstern that "high turnover rates among young people...are consistent with a search theoretic model in which frequent flows into unemployment represent a potentiall efficient sampling of the job market (45, 456). Grasso has shed new light on this subject (644, vol. 6).

Nor is between-jobs unemployment directly proportionate to the job turnover rates of an age group. In many countries, teenagers have higher unemployment rates than young adults, but the 20-to-24-year-old group sometimes has higher turnover rates than the teenagers, as Table 9.4 indicates for Great Britain, Japan, and Australia and as other Swedish surveys have shown; American data usually demonstrate that teenagers change jobs more frequently than any other age group. Among countries, there are substantial differences in the amount and duration of youth unemployment between jobs, even when the job turnover rates are similar. Differences in the methods of the surveys, the years in which data were collected, the age classes, and the economic situation in each country somewht mar the comparability of the turnover rates, but comparisons are roughly valid.

Among countries and within countries, between-jobs unemployment is more likely at all ages when jobs are lost than when they are voluntarily left; admittedly, the line between the two often is difficult to distinguish. Unpublished results from the National Longitudinal Surveys of young American men 14-to 24-year-old in 1966 showed that, in 1967, voluntary leavers far outnumbered those who had been dismissed and that a smaller proportion of the voluntary than the involuntary leavers experienced some unemployment by 1969. However, using a measure of mean weeks of unemployment, the same survey reported that voluntary leavers averaged only one week less of unemployment during

Table 9.3 Percentage of Unemployment in 1972: Youth and Total Labor Force in Sweden and the United States

Country	Age Group	Unemployment Rates	Youth Share of Unemployment	Distribution of Unemployment by Reason Total	New Entrants	Reentrants	Job Losers	Job Leavers
U.S.	16-65+	5.6	...	100.0	13.9	28.8	44.3	13.1
Sweden	16-74	2.7	...	100.0	9.2	25.4	48.7	16.7
U.S.	16-19	16.2	26.9	100.0	34.7	31.1	23.8	10.4
U.S.	20-24	9.3	23.1	100.0	7.3	32.5	44.6	15.7
Sweden	16-24	6.3	(38.3)	100.0	44.7[a]		36.0	19.1
Sweden	16-19	8.9	17.8	...	...	...	...	...
Sweden	20-24	5.0	20.6	...	...	...	...	...

[a] Includes reentrants.

Sources:
875a, Table 1.2; 895, Table A-15; 809, Table 1.3; 792b, Table 1.

the year than those who had been dismissed (742, 92). In Britain, an analysis of "socially unsettled" youths in 1969 indicated that they had the same duration of unemployment as the average, but tended to lose jobs through dismissal more frequently than others and had more spells of unemployment (289, 4-7). Another British study, which followed 15 year-old male school-leavers from their labor market entry in 1961 to their situation in 1972 when they were 26 years old, discovered that the percentage of total time spent in unemployment rose from .03 percent for those who had had only one employer throughout to 5.1 percent for those with 11 or more employers (114a).

Although under all economic circumstances a higher proportion of those who have been involuntarily dismissed than of those who have quit jobs experience some unemployment, the overall economic situation has a direct effect on the level of turnover and its division between involuntary separations and voluntary quits. When the demand for labor grows slack, the total turnover rate declines, the proportion of involuntary separations increases, and there is a greater propensity to unemployment for voluntary and involuntary leavers alike, although the differential between the two groups persists (656, 257-68; 62, 84-86; 506, 27, 165-201, 392; 644, vol. 6).

Data illustrating all of these trends are so rare, especially on a cross-national basis, that Table 9.5 is of interest despite the age of the data and some lack of comparability among the three surveys. It is noteworthy that, compared to the preceding years, the employment situation in the United States in 1955 is considered to have been very good even though 13 percent of all who had work experience that year had some unemployment. On the other hand, Sweden's lower rate for 1968 represents the highest unemployment in the entire decade. Sweden had more job mobility, but fewer dismissals. The relation between overall separation rates and economic conditions is shown, as is the impact of economic conditions on the share of involuntary separations. The advantage of voluntary quitters over job losers in avoiding exposure to unemployment also emerges clearly; the differential unemployment experience between the two groups is greater in Sweden. British youth studies show similar cyclical relationships (434, 42-54, 55-79; 301d, 17, 19, 20, 34).

As little as is known about the initial and subsequent unemployment of new entrants, even less is known about the relation between new entrants' unemployment and the method of finding the first and early jobs. An inherent limitation of any test of such a relation arises from the influence that the length of time spent in entrance unemployment may exert upon the method of finding a job, instead of vice-versa. If some entrants approach the public channels as a last resort after considerable search time has elapsed, it is unfair to attribute the prior unemployment to the public channels. Two British studies of school-leavers indicate that many who obtained their first jobs through the Youth Employment Service had not come to that agency at once (104, 169; 844, ch. 3). Ideally, one should measure unemployment from the time the applicatn came to the agency which found his first job. In practice, of course, we are fortunate even to obtain an accurate account of the total amount of unemployed time before starting the first job.

Only one study has come to hand which asked whether new entrants who had used the public placement agencies had less entrance unemployment than others. Analyzing the situation for young entrants in Willesden, a thriving London suburb, Maizels found no real association and reported that the type of job sought was more significant in determining the length of entrance unemployment than the method of finding it (510, 118). No analyses have been found for youth concerning unemployment time between jobs in relation to the method of finding the next job. But one such study was conducted with British workers of all ages dismissed in a group because of economic difficulties in their firms. The length of time out of work was not significantly different for the 91 men who used the Employment Service to find new jobs than for the 517 who used other methods. However, among the 186 women in the sample, the small number who found their jobs through the employment service had a shorter median length of time out of work than did the remainder (681, 172-73; 680, Table 5).

Obviously more studies in more countries are needed if claims are to be made about the superiority of the public channels over other job finding methods in avoiding or curtailing entrance unemployment or unemployment between early jobs.

JOB TENURE

A British researcher has suggested that the relative effectiveness of the various placement channels might be judged by the "association between the source of help in obtaining first jobs, and the number of job changes of the young people (510, 118). In other words, the new entrants placed by the official methods should have a longer job tenure than others if a case is to be made for the superiority of the public agencies. The debatable assumption is made that all of the other factors associated with a propensity to job turnover will not overwhelm the effects of the method of finding the first job. Any assumption that job stability is the highest value may be questioned, but, on the other hand, concern might rightly be felt about young people who have engaged in frequent job changing which produces no objective improvement in later labor market position.

In an interesting analysis of the factors related to tenure in the first job, Ornstein chose as one of his variables the method of finding the second job. He concluded that men who used methods "that required more initiative, in comparison to those using family and friends to find their second jobs, tended to leave their first jobs sooner than others" (628, 346). For present purposes, it is more relevant to examine the method of finding the first job. The available information--three local studies of British youngsters--is unstandardized for any characteristics except age, and does not distinguish between job changes induced by external forces, such as the failure of a business or the family's change of residence, and those due to the incumbent's own behavior or decision. Nor does it allow for those who took a stop-gap job while they waited for a more desirable job to open up.

The three British studies showed that those placed in first jobs by the Youth Employment Service had a briefer tenure in their first jobs than those who obtained jobs through other methods. Where schools also were singled out as a placement source, they achieved a superior record in job stability compared to the Y.E.S. placements, but not as compared to all other channels taken together. One study found that girls, unlike boys, were more likely to remain in their first jobs if they had been placed by the Y.E.S. All of the authors declared that many other intervening factors of home background, personal character, fulfillment of vocational aims, and the nature and availability of jobs contributed to these results (943, 112-13, 510, 118-21.) These adverse findings can be considered all the more serious because another analysis, discussed in chapter 6, indicated that school-leavers whose first jobs conformed to the guidance recommendations of the Youth Employment Officers (Y.E.O.) had a longer tenure in these jobs than did others (112). This study did not present job-finding methods. However, if those who followed the advice of the Y.E.O. tried but were unable to obtain the designated type of jobs through the official placement channels or were more successful through other job-finding methods, additional cause would exist to question the efficacy of the public placement methods.

Another British study, relating neither to new entrants nor to young people alone, may be cited. Reid concluded that those redundant workers (dismissed as a group for economic reasons) who found their new jobs through the employment service remained in these new jobs for a significantly shorter time and were less satisfied with them than those who used other job finding methods, although the placements by the employment service maintained skill levels more closely than the other methods and provided jobs which offered the same weekly take-home pay as in the preredundancy job. It appeared that many who were placed by the employment service regarded these new jobs merely as stop-gap solutions. On balance, the employment service performance was judged to be no better than that of other methods (680; 681). In a national study in 1973 of the British unemployed, Daniel discovered that a minority of users of the employment exchange found its services not helpful or useful (235, 88-97). Somewhat different results were reported from France in a follow-up six months after official placement of unemployed youth, including some new entrants. The official agency was credited with providing a longer tenure in the job than did other job finding methods and also with a better match between jobs and applicants' desires (721, 88-97; for U.S., 879a).

It would be desirable to have information for many other countries before conclusions are drawn about the relation between tenure on the first job and the method of finding the job. Such studies require a research design which will control adequately for the relevant variables and will define the issues precisely.

It is of some interest, although far from conclusive evidence,

Table 9.4 Percentage of All Employed Changing Employers At Least Once During One Year

	Sweden[b]		Great Britain[c]		Japan[d]		United States[e]			Australia[1]	
Age	1970	1973	Age	1972	Age	1968	Age	1961	1975	Age	1974
16-19	17.7[a]	24.1	15-17	24.2	15-19	5.6	18-19	23.1	29.9	15-19	24.8
20-24	17.5	18.4	18-24	25.5	20-24	7.5	20-24	22.0	27.1	20-24	28.0
All	11.1	9.9	All	12.7	All	3.6	All	10.1	15.1	All	17.5

[a] 14-19-years old.

Sources:

[b] 808, Table 27; 815, Table 2.

[c] 315, Table 3.6.

[d] 430c, Table 41, Table 46.

[e] 41, Table 1, Table H; 877c, Table 5.

[1] 22.

Table 9.5 Percentage of Voluntary and Involuntary Job Leavers Experiencing Unemployment

Types of Job Leavers	Sweden 1968	United States 1955	United States 1961
Had work experience and some unemployment during the year	8.1	13.0	16.7
Had work experience and left at least one job during the year	13.1	11.1	10.1
Left at least one job through dismissal	22.7	32.4	45.0
Were dismissed and had some unemployment during the year	61.9	63.0	...
Quit jobs and had some unemployment during the year	13.0	35.8	...

Sources: 821; 41; 877a.

that Table 9.6 suggests that French new entrants are more stable in jobs than British, although the latter have had more assistance from official placement services and have found a much higher proportion of their jobs through official sources. In explaining the notably lower job-changing rates of French youth, especially when apprentices are included to give comparability with Britain, account should be taken of French surveys which reveal that higher proportions of young people report job and occupational satisfaction than is shown by youth in similar British studies (104; 510, 252-68; 47, 107-30, 145-46; 496; 513).

Since the evidence on job tenure in relation to placement method is scanty and inconclusive, the claim by advocates of the superiority of the official channels must be held in abeyance.

CONSIDERED CHOICE

For young people one of the anticipated benefits of a reliance on public placement channels is the attainment of more thoughtful job choices than are achieved through unofficial methods. The official agencies are held to be more likely to present alternative job vacancies for consideration and to give personal assistance and time to each youth. A firm statement about the advantages of public placement was made some years ago by British officials:

> The range of employment opportunity which can be made available by the Youth Employment Service, through its network of local, regional and national offices, and its close contact with employers and colleges, is more comprehensive and can be presented more objectively by youth employment officers than by any other means (305a, 4).

But in fact, the official agencies often have too few openings to make multiple offers, and such agencies rarely are staffed sufficiently well to take the time to present new entrants with a wide selection of the jobs for which they might qualify or to discuss the details of each job. Instead, the placement officer is likely to select one job opening at a time for each applicant, presenting the information without much consideration of alternatives. A youngster who tries to open up a discussion of his work options at the placement stage might incur the displeasure of the placement officer and arouse suspicions of the applicant's sincerity or ability to find a job. In view of the large number of young people who reach the placement stage without having given serious consideration to their first or later jobs, the placement agencies which aid young people have a need to establish and enlarge job information and counseling services. It is an error to assume that all new entrants have had or absorbed occupational counseling, even where such services are widely offered in schools.

One of the prerequisites of a considered choice is the existence of several job offers at one time. But studies in countries

Table 9.6 Percentage of Young People Having Multiple Employers Since Starting Work

	Number of Employers							
	Great Britain (1963)[a]				France (1964, 1969)			
Age and Sex	1	2	3	4+	1	2	3	4+
Age 15-19								
Male	56	20	11	13	62[b]	25[b]	7[b]	6[b]
Female	54	25	12	9	64[b]	27[b]	6[b]	3[b]
Age 20-24								
Male	28	21	18	33	40[b]	33[b]	14[b]	13[b]
Female	30	24	21	25	47[b]	35[b]	11[b]	7[b]
Age 15-24								
1964[c]	...	...	...	...	82	14	2	2
1969[d]	...	...	...	...	63	19	7	10

Sources: 350, Table 57; 47, Tables 14 and 35; 496, Table 3.

[a] Includes apprentices. Military service counted as change of job.

[b] Excludes apprentices.

[c] Apprentices only. Apprentices constituted 19 percent of the total French sample of 1964; 70 percent of the apprentices were males 15 to 19 and 27 percent were females 15 to 19.

[d] Males and females 15 to 24 at time of survey. Includes apprentices.

where youth placement facilities are well developed indicate that "many school-leavers are neither motivated nor equipped to seek work in a systematic way..." and that they are likely to accept the first job to come along (625, 139). In a prosperous surburban area of Greater London, which was reported in the mid-1960s to have 50 vacancies for every school-leaver and where the Youth Employment Service made a large proportion of placements in first jobs, over half of the boys and almost two-thirds of the girls accepted the first job offered to them. This reaction was interpreted as an absence of well-considered choice (510, 117-18). When times are bad and in areas of limited economic opportunity, new entrants may accept the first job offer because they suspect that it will be the only one. Chapter 7 has given some information about how few job offers unemployed persons of all ages receive. Moreover, the national survey of the unemployed in Britain conducted by PEP reported that about one-fourth of unemployed persons under 25 felt that the adult employment exchange exerted pressure on them to take unsuitable jobs (155, 95). While the findings do not necessarily apply equally to the youth placement agency, such reactions are not unknown.

On the other hand, the public placement agencies are in a good position to widen the geographical horizons of young people who could obtain better jobs if they extended their daily commuting distance or moved away from home. While only a small proportion of teenagers will consider an actual move, older new entrants can make a more considered choice of their first jobs in the spatial sense through the official channels than through many other sources. There is, therefore, a mixed finding on the contribution of public placement agencies to considered choice; but it is, on the whole, not demonstrated that the public agencies are more efficacious than other methods.

QUALITY OF JOBS

When the assertion is made the the official channels can obtain "better" first jobs than other job-finding methods, several possible conflicting definitions may be implied, since no universally agreed view of "better" jobs exists among youth. Some young people rank potential earnings above everything else and identify the best job as the one which pays the most, even if it has no future and requires long hours, as a French study indicates (207, 81-83). Others will opt for a lower-paying entry job, provided that it offers training, promotion possibilities, security, protection from competition, and fringe benefits--the qualities identified with the primary or internal labor market, in dual labor market theory (178; 679; 103; 43). Japanese surveys among new entrants reveal that male high school and college graduates entering the labor market value a secure future above immediate high earnings, but female college graduates are more interested in using their abilities in their entry job than in the job's pay or future prospects (201, Table 1). Neglecting both pay and security, some new entrants look primarily for other features--interesting and satisfying jobs, an attractive work setting, avoidance of monotony, a convenient daily trip to work, or short and predictable hours.

Many young Europeans exhibit an active preference for small firms with informal and personalized relations, in spite of the objective disadvantages which dismay adult analysts (512, 85-89; 453, 408-11; 47, 27-30). This deliberate youth behavior is not entirely in accord with the dual labor market theory that youth involuntarily enter and are confined to the secondary labor market. It raises the possibility that some young people share a view expressed by two British guidance experts:

> A so-called 'dead-end' job does not exist providing that an individual chooses it knowing all the facts, and knows why he has chosen it in relation to what he wants (361, 34).

But espousal of these attitudes also may be a rationalization after the fact or a realistic adjustment to the most likely type of job to fall to such young people.

If the crucial test of the various job-finding methods is their ability to deliver the kind of job a young person desires, the superiority of the public channels could be established by a higher proportion of satisfied clients than other methods could show. No studies of precisely this type are available and, in any case, they would not satisfy those who believe the acid test of the public job-finding methods is their ability to deliver an entry job at a higher occupational level than the young person would find through other methods.

How do the public placement channels perform, using the different criteria of better jobs described above? At the outset, it should be made clear that no conclusions can be drawn from studies which simply compare the occupational distribution of first jobs according to the method of job-finding because such studies make no adjustments for differences among young job-finders according to their background, abilities, education, qualifications, and aims. In such studies the public channels earn a low rating because of what is usually described as a vicious circle--the applicants are of relatively lower quality, educational attainment, and aspiration than the whole group; and the public channels, especially the employment service, receive a disproportionately large share of the low-paid, low-skill, small-firm job openings and a small share of the most desirable jobs, which often are not notified to them at all because of alternative hiring methods or the constraints of internal labor markets (56, 1085; 824; 826; 665, 128-42; 721; 722; 207; 104, 169, 178-82).

In view of these biases in most public placement channels, the relevant question may be whether, at the lower occupational levels, the official methods can offer better jobs than these individuals or groups could secure through other placement methods. British studies which dealt with fairly uniform groups of displaced job-seekers of all ages arrive at unfavorable conclusions about the employment service's performance even for less skilled workers (680; 681; 441; 156; 157).

However, new entrants as a class are too diverse to be treated in this simple fashion. The few studies which have dealt with new entrants' job-finding methods and also have controlled for the other variables affecting the first job's qualities, have used a variety of approaches. For a national sample of American males who entered working life in the 1940s and early 1950s, Ornstein regressed both the occupational prestige score of the first job and the starting wage of that job on educational attainment and a set of five dummy variables describing the means used to find a first job. Although the differences were very small and the level of education was intercorrelated with the method of job-finding, there was a small, independent, positive effect of using a public agency rather than family and friends, especially for blacks, as regards both the job prestige and the starting wage. However, direct applications and private employment agencies produced even better results (628, 86-88).

Saunders, analyzing a 1966-69 sample of young men with less than 15 years of formal education and including first and later jobs, reached much the same conclusion about the relative performance of the various job-finding methods (732, ch. 6, 7). A 1973 survey of American job seekers of all ages made comparisons of the hourly earnings on newly found jobs with those on jobs held in 1971 or 1972, relating changes in earnings to the method of finding the job, Among the official methods, civil service tests, asking teachers or professors, and school placement offices yielded jobs with larger relative increases in pay than did the public employment service, which produced only a 7 percent average increase, against the overall average of 12 percent (872, Tables J-1, J-2).

It is likely that most controlled surveys would find the public channels neither the worst nor the best job-finding method as regards earnings and other aspects of the job. Quite a different situation arises when the test of success is an upgrading of occupational status through public placement methods. The evidence is that no placement method is particularly effective for a whole group, although particular individuals may fare better with one method than with another. Using the same sample as Ornstein did, Coleman's multiple correlation has established that "the influence of family and friends as a means of getting the first job is slight and negative" in regard to the occupational status of the job. This result suggests that, whatever the power of family and friends to obtain jobs with better conditions than new entrants could obtain on their own, such influence rarely extends to securing an occupational status much above that indicated by educational achievement, which is by far the most powerful determinant of the occupational level of the first job (126, 250-53). Within limits, however, the impact of influence or nepotism on job placements should not be underrated (104, 170-74; 281; 160, 79-80, 103-109; 499, 230).

The predominant influence of social background, parental education and occupation, and educational level and achievement on the entry job's occupation level is not the only limitation upon the capacity of the public placement channels to influence this aspect. In most countries, the official channels reinforce the other selection influences, by matching young people and jobs according to socially accepted standards. Since the placement services cannot increase the total number of "good" jobs in the economy, at most they may slightly redistribute these preferred jobs, provided they are supported by legal sanctions such as antidiscrimination legislation. In the absence of remedial programs for youth or legal sanctions, public placement services seldom show a commitment to upward mobility as a placement goal and are rarely able to deliver on such an aim, given the social and economic inequities inherent in the preparatory institutions and in the job market itself. No firm conclusions can be reached about the impact of public placement channels on the quality of jobs.

AID TO DISADVANTAGED YOUTH

An evaluation of placement assistance to the segments of the new entrants designated as disadvantaged must concentrate on the countries which have instituted special measures for such youth, usually without a distinction between new entrants and young people who have already worked. Some American studies examine separately the job-finding methods of black and white youth and arrive at conclusions about the utility of the various job finding methods, judged by the duration of entrance unemployment and the quality of jobs, as measured by wage rates, earnings, or occupational prestige. Most of these studies do not isolate the official placement methods from others identified as "formal" or "active," but Saunders is an exception. Dividing his sample of American young men by race and social class, but not separating our new entrants. Saunders found that the only channel leading to notably higher quality jobs among blacks was the public employment service and that school placements consistently were associated with significantly lower rates of pay for blacks than all other methods (732, 327-28).

Since relatively few blacks find jobs through the employment service, its reported benefits are not widespread. The question arises whether it could perform as well if a larger proportion of black youth found their jobs through the E.S. or if there were no official and legal pressures on employers to notify the employment service of higher level vacancies and to accept blacks for them. Even so, not everyone agrees that the programs for the disadvantaged have resulted in better job placements. Recent evaluators of these programs, not distinguishing clients by age or entry position, have criticized the jobs offered to the disadvantaged by the official agencies as being no better and in some cases worse than those the job seekers could obtain through other methods (180, 24-28; 356, 147-50; 551, 159-60).

On the subject of unemployment experience, one American study commands attention, although it does not concern new entrants solely. Studying differential unemployment rates of low-income American males (16 to 21) by race and age and using a single-equation regression model, Leigh and Rawlins found that there is a significant difference in the degree of use of formal search methods between white youth, on the one hand, and black or Spanish-speaking youth, on the other.

Concluding that "increasing utilization of formal information networks fails to increase employment opportunities" and that there is "a significantly positive relationship between unemployment and reliance on formal networks," Leigh and Rawlins speculated that "the lower unemployment rates of whites may be due in part to the greater likelihood that whites have relatives and friends who are able to pass along job vacancy information through informal channels" (485).

Although the Leigh and Rawlins study deals with job search rather than job-finding methods, and uses the formal-informal dichotomy instead of the official-unofficial division, its sophisticated methodology gives it special interest. On several counts, the interpretation of the job search determinant may be questioned. Potential intercorrelation between job search methods, educational level, and formal training is not discussed. Nor is the possibility examined that the formal search methods may have been utilized after the failure of the informal methods; and, therefore, the formal methods have been assigned responsibility for a portion of unemployment which occurred prior to their use. Finally, the results are presented as though the various search methods have inherent, nonchanging characteristics, when in fact the formal methods in particular are capable of improved efficiency.

Swedish reports state that the employment service "acts predominantly in support of groups in a weaker position on the labour market," but offer no evidence on the outcomes of this support as it affects the evaluation variables relevant to this discussion (818, 1973-74, 24).

British information suggests that some colored school-leavers may have obtained better or higher paying jobs through the official channels than they otherwise would have, especially during the 1960s, but confirmation is on an anecdotal rather than a statistical basis. For the majority of the various categories of disadvantaged new entrants, it may be doubted that the Careers Service provides a higher quality of job than can be obtained in other ways, although entrance unemployment appears to be reduced through the official efforts. Certainly the establishment of private agencies for blacks and hard-to-place job seekers indicates some failure in the official agencies in regard to the job levels offered (576b; 576c).

Without adducing any hard data, Zeisel's study of British youth unemployment in the early 1960s concludes that "for the less talented or able new entrants to the labor market the Youth Employment Service program can have a significant effect in reducing both the amount and duration of unemployment" (958, 140-41). The same opinion may be offered with regard to the physically and mentally handicapped, colored school-leavers, and socially unsettled youth, although the validating studies have not been made to show the superiority of the public channels in reducing entrance and turnover unemployment. Compared with French youth, the small proportion of British youth with long-duration entrance unemployment (see Table 9.2) is partial evidence of the efficacy of the British Careers Service.

Among the other groups whose entrance unemployment may be shortened more effectively by public placement channels than by other placement methods are those whose occupational aims are higher than the level achieved by their families and friends, and those who cannot find suitable work close to home. The public agencies can contribute in several ways--direct job placement, counseling, provision of information about job openings outside the labor market area, and revision of occupational aims, often in a downward direction unless special government programs for upward mobility exist. A reduction of the time spent in unemployment is contingent on an early application to the public placement agency and often depends on a willingness to accept a lower wage and less attractive job than had been sought. On balance, the public placement methods appear to have a good potential to aid disadvantaged youth and those with special needs.

EFFECTIVE LABOR FORCE ALLOCATION

The final test of the superiority of the official agencies is their relation to the allocation of the labor force. One contention of the advocates of public placement is that public agencies are best able to effect a desirable industrial and occupational distribution of new entrants, in keeping with national goals and without damage to individual desires. Recognizing that a concern about national economic goals is much stronger in some countries than in others and that the role of new entrants in the economy varies considerably, what can be said about the performance of the official methods in comparison with other placement methods? And how compatible are the national goals and the wishes of individuals?

Japan probably is the only country where the public placement of new entrants is sufficiently managed to qualify for examination. Other countries may have an effective overall manpower policy of which placement is a constituent part, but nowhere else have the official agencies equalled the Japanese quantitative record on new entrants' placements. How do these placements relate to the needs of the economy and youth? An OECD evaluation, reporting that "much has been claimed for the role of the Japanese employment service in the allocation of new school graduates to where they were needed in the expansion of the modern sectors of the economy," admits that it is difficult to assess how well the role has been performed and that "the question is what qualitative discretion was exercised by the labour market authorities in the placement of individual graduates in terms of their abilities and employers' needs" (618, 134-35). The close relationship between employers and the public employment service (PESO) has been described in the section on job prearrangement in chapter 8. In the years of labor shortage, the rationing system for new entrants operated by PESO kept their wages from rising even more than they actually did relative to wages of other age groups. In this sense, young workers' interest were subordinated to national aims and employers' interests.

High marks have been given to PESO also for its supervision of the movement of young people from rural areas to distant cities, benefiting both employers and workers. When new entrants are directed to the firms which adhere to the lifetime employment system, young people are expected to remain with these companies. However, under conditions of labor shortage, many young workers found a chance to better their position by changing jobs, often by shifting to larger firms. This has been interpreted by the Japanese authorities as a failure of information, guidance, and placement policy, but it may equally well represent the natural effects of labor market imbalance which puts young workers at a premium. If young workers were in surplus, it would be equally erroneous to interpret their lower turnover rates as evidence of satisfaction with official placement actions. A balanced labor market for youth would afford a better opportunity to judge whether the placement service regards the individual interests of young people as highly as those of employers and the Japanese economy.

The most serious reason to question whether Japanese placement policy is entirely fair to all new entrants is its acceptance and reinforcement of employer preferences for the graduates of particular schools, colleges, and universities, so that the occupational future of a youngster is virtually set by the reputation of the earliest school attended with its subsequent access to the preferred schools at the next levels of education.

There is insufficient evidence at present to decide whether public placement methods, if they were strong enough, could achieve a better allocation of new entrants than other placement methods in most countries, given defined, national aims. Some argue in any case for a division of placement activity between official and unofficial channels (439, 199-203). And there is no end in sight to the running controversy over the problems of official agencies which seek to give full scope to personal occupational development and at the same time meet national plans or needs, as chapter 6 discussed in some detail.

PUBLIC PLACEMENT METHODS AS MANPOWER AGENCIES

What is know currently about the performance of the public placement methods lends little support to the view that they are clearly superior to other job-finding methods for new entrants. There is considerable evidence that young people in many countries are not entirely satisfied with the quantity or quality of the official services (481; 579; 721). Admittedly, the evidence is imperfect and there is a great potential for improving the official methods in most places. In certain cases--prearrangement for first jobs, aid to the disadvantaged and others subject to prolonged entrance unemployment, or organization of the youth labor market--the public placement channels may achieve better results than other methods. But concerning superiority with respect to entrance and turnover unemployment in general, job tenure, considered choice of job, and the quality of the first job, no supporting evidence has been found. However, the job-finding process might be even more difficult for youth if the public channels did not exist. No mandate for abandoning the services is found.

To some advocates of public placement who have a fairly traditional and narrow view of the placement function, these unenthusiastic conclusions may be disturbing. But others who champion the employment service can accept these results because they do not expect a superior placement record, asking only that the official agencies assemble reliable and full labor market information, including vacancies and available workers. They also may cite the forces which are making placements, as such, less important than the other, nonplacement activities of the official agencies. It can be argued that, no matter how small a proportion of placements the public channels make, they have other functions, which, in a sense, make irrelevant the kind of questions posed here (684).

Most young people will find their first jobs, whatever their quality or prospects for the future, in a reasonable period of time. But for the minority who have difficulties, the public placement channels, especially those which form part of a manpower agency, have a key role, rarely performed by the unofficial methods. New entrants often have not narrowed to a realistic range their ideas about the level and types of jobs they seek. If they gave little thought to the subject while they experienced in-school information and counseling services or if they never had these preparatory services, they may require back up information and guidance services and a type of placement assistance which can only be obtained through official channels.

Recent developments also have shown that the public channels, unlike the unofficial methods, have a potential for assuming an advocacy role in placing selected groups regarded as underprivileged. This activity, visible to some extent in almost every country, has reached major proportions in only a few. Serving as a buffer between the new entrants and the world of work, the placement agencies are best able to gauge the needs for youth which are not fulfilled simply by placement efforts. They may not administer all of the programs, but they usually coordinate the effort. Without going into detail, the programs which serve new entrants who have difficulties can be classified under the following heading:

intensive information and counseling services
remedial and supportive services
skill training programs
job creation in the private and public sectors
payment of financial benefits
activities with employers
special placement efforts

Examples of each can be found in most of the countries discussed previously. Needless to say, the programs rarely are confined to new entrants, but are open to all youth with labor market problems. In some cases, youth participate in programs established for all age groups. Britain's national government has provided the money required to hire 230 extra Careers Officers in the local education authorities. These officers are charged with encouraging job creation, training and additional employment opportunities for young people.

Whether these programs are considered part of an active manpower policy or merely as welfare measures, those public placement agencies which already have established a good placement record are most likely to perform effectively in this area. These activities may enhance or diminish the placement function. But there is no doubt that the added dimensions of the public placement services furnish a rationale for their operations which goes beyond the assumed superiority of official over unofficial placement methods.

Placement is not the final transition service in a comprehensive transition program. In chapter 10 the related programs for induction to work and follow-up of young workers will be discussed.

CHAPTER 10. INDUCTION TO WORK AND FOLLOW-UP

A transition which ends with placement in first jobs is considered inadequate in the countries which take their transition services seriously. Shiftin their attention from schoolroom to workplace, transition programs in these countries assume responsibility for two additional aspects of the transition from school to work--induction services to ease the initial experience at work and follow-up services for young people during their first out-of-school years, which may be marked by experimentation and floundering, involving both movement from job to job and spells out of the work force. While it is possible to provide induction and follow-up services by the establishment of special agencies or through emergency programs for problem groups or situations, the coordination of all services in a unified transition program is the more effective method and is favored by Great Britain, Japan, and Sweden, among others.

INDUCTION PROBLEMS

The first day at work has been described as possibly the most important one in a young person's life (323, 177). Many who feel no anxiety about work while they are at school and indeed long for the day when they will start a full-time job become fearful when the actual initiation is at hand. In countries where it is common for those in school to work at the same time or to hold vacation jobs, these temporary experiences may ease the induction into full-time jobs. But in many countries most young people leave school with little prior work experience beyond the delivery of newspapers and similar jobs, and the initial entry to full-time work may be troublesome. Surveys indicate that new entrants are concerned about their ability to cope with new places, people, and situations; their relations with adult workers and supervisors; and their appearance, behavior, and performance on the job.

Some induction problems are attributed to the inherent differences in the tempo and style of school and work. But some problems are laid at the door of employers who fail to provide adequate advance information about all the job aspects which might concern young people or who assign different work tasks than were specified at the job interview. Blame is also placed on teachers and schools which, overtly or covertly, pass on inadequate or distorted views of work, frightening their pupils and causing them to expect to be "exploited, bullied or belittled," as Bazalgette puts it. He concludes that pupils at school "lack adequate ways of thinking about work in industry" and do not have access to "adults from whom to learn how to cope with life in industry, particularly at the shop floor level" (50). There are, on the other hand, radical critics of education who maintain that schools already do too much to prepare young people to accept bad jobs and that induction services are simply another service entirely for the benefit of employers.

Few surveys have provided information about the reactions of new entrants in the first weeks of their first jobs. One inquiry which has looked into this subject reported on a national sample of 15- to 16-year-old British school-leavers after a brief time at work. Half of the boys said they had not felt fed-up with the job at all during the first weeks. Boys in white-collar jobs who were not attending part-time further education courses had the highest satisfaction rate (55 percent), and boys at all occupational levels who were attending part-time courses, usually sponsored by employers, were least satisfied (45 percent) (844, ch. 5). Since it has been said that some British employers offer paid further education courses as a lure to attract new recruits, even when such courses will not in fact be provided or when the job does not require them (278, 133-4), the finding by Thomas and Wetherell that attendance at such courses was associated with greater dissatisfaction with the job is surprising and raises questions about the quality of the further education courses and the coordination between jobs and such courses.

Among the reasons for dissatisfaction, boredom with the job ranked first for the whole group and for each subdivision by occupational level and attendance at further education colleges. Other important causes of dissatisfaction were troubles with other employees, more difficult work than was anticipated, different work than had been expected, and older workers' lack of tolerance for inexperienced youth. Relatively few boys cited unpleasant working conditions or long, inconvenient hours. A further analysis related the boys' answers on job satisfaction to their subsequent job-changing behavior within the first six months. Those who left the first job had shown a higher rate of dissatisfaction than those who stayed (58 percent compared with 43 percent). But the rank order of causes of dissatisfaction was the same for leavers and stayers (844, ch. 5).

It is the assumption of advocates that induction programs might alleviate some of the dissatisfaction, uncertainty, and frustration among young people. In fact, a lack of induction programs or a poor induction has been blamed for the abandonment of a chosen occupation, chronic vocational instability, constant worry about inadequacy of performance, disruptive behavior, and other work adjustment problems (164, 35-37; 515, 50, 62-63; 452; 105, 157; 143).

The employer also has his rationale for sponsoring induction programs. The Training Board for the British wool, jute, and flax industry states the case in terms which apply more generally:

> In view of the high costs involved in recruiting, training and supervising new starters it is essential that every effort is made to achieve a more stable situation. Whether or not trends can be quickly reversed it makes good business sense to integrate new employees as rapidly as possible and to turn them into productive workers

> with the minimum of wasted time. The first impressions which new starters gain of the Company can be critical and may have a considerable effect on the subsequent careers of the men and women concerned. Statistics show that the highest incidence of leaving occurs within two-three weeks of commencing a new job. Passage through this 'danger' period can be eased if new starters commence their employment with a systematically planned period of familiarisation, or induction training as it is commonly called (725, 1).

Investigations demonstrate that all employers who offer induction programs do not have exactly this motivation, but the desire to reduce labor turnover and recruitment costs is commonly a prominent feature. Other benefits are said to be a more committed or cooperative workforce, a better team, and better labor-management relations. The induction period is also said to provide an ideal opportunity for the company to project its image as an employer and to lay the foundations of discipline and safety standards before undesirable practices are picked up on the job.

However, some employers recognize that the provision of full information during the induction period will not necessarily increase job satisfaction and reduce turnover, especially voluntary quits. If the jobs are hard, menial, dirty, low-paid, dead-end, seasonal or in other ways unattractive, a full description at the outset may crystallize potential dissatisfaction and result in greater turnover. A British survey establishes that some employers, particularly in retail sales, deliberately do not offer induction training and willingly accept high turnover as a way of life because their jobs require little training and high turnover rates can produce savings on vacation wages and fringe benefits (452).

INDUCTION PREPARATION IN SCHOOLS

The contribution by the transition services and the schools before young people leave school is necessarily subordinate to the induction programs of employers. But induction services should be an integral part of the information-counseling-placement process in schools. Those in charge must be knowledgeable about local firms and actual jobs, and it is likely that school-based personnel will not be as competent in this aspect as employment service personnel or the newly created industrial liaison officers in some British careers offices. Some specific published materials for this stage are available although they are not plentiful. For example, Britain's CRAC has published and sells commercially Touch Down to Work, a companion to Lift Off From School, two-color workbooks for 15- to 16-year-olds on a variety of transition subjects. CRAC has also published Starting a Job in the Bull's Eye Series, specifically for those of average to lower ability. Similarly, a "Beginner's Guide to Work," published in the U.S. Department of Labor's Occupational Outlook Quarterly and reprinted separately, deals briefly with many questions young people might raise on starting full-time jobs. It is, of course, overoptimistic to expect that information which is presented in the school setting about the initial days at work can prevent all surprises, shocks, and problems. Moreover, those who have evaluated such activities or lack of them, mainly in Britain, have had unflattering things to say about the actual results.

Since the amount and quality of induction preparation in the schools is necessarily limited, the transition services can extend their concern about this aspect of the transition by providing services to employers and trade unions which will assist these organizations to provide better induction programs. Information about the young people who are entering various firms, advice about specific induction needs, liaison with the nonprofit organizations which operate induction courses for youth, and reviews of company and trade union induction activities are among the specialized functions which the transition services and schools can perform. The appointment of industrial liaison officers by some British Careers Service offices is a partial move toward greater activity in this area. More drastic proposals in Britain have advanced the idea that careers officers should be transformed into "industrial induction managers" and that the careers service should be completely reorganized. On the other side, it has been recommended that small firms should band together and appoint one liaison officer to cooperate with the schools and transition services (412, 30, 43, 45, 50; 734, 23; 50; 97, Winter 1970-71, 34; 232).

It is clear, however, that the chief responsibility for induction programs rests with employers, for whom many guidelines have been developed.

MODEL INDUCTION PROGRAMS

As officially defined in the British Glossary of Training Terms, induction programs are:

> Arrangements made by or on behalf of the management to familiarise the trainee/new employee with the working organization, welfare and safety matters, general conditions of employment and the work of the section or department in which he is to be employed. It is a continuous process, starting from the first contact with the employer. The length of the programme will vary according to the level of entry, the sophistication of the job and the previous experience of the trainee (cited in 452).

As can be seen, induction training need not be concentrated on new entrants to the labor force, but there is a general recognition that they have special problems which require extended or different provision.

Discussions of induction deal much more with what ought to be than with what is. The Guide to Induction Training ussed in 1975 by the British Training Board for the wool, jute, and flax industry makes suggestions to member firms about who should receive induction training, who should give it, where it should take place, what information should be given, and in what sequence. Under the heading "initial induction to the company," which should begin on the first work day, the following subjects are covered: forms and documents to be filled in or collected; hours of work; wages; pensions; sickness; trade unions; notice of leaving or dismissal; training policy and programs; channels of communication; parking facilities; safety and health regulations and accident procedures; canteen facilities; recreation; help with problems through personnel or welfare officers; company history and structure; company products; and tour of the site, noting location of departments, offices, washrooms, canteen, medical room, entrances and exits, and fire exits. A department induction program should follow which includes personal introductions, department procedures, a tour of the department, special subjects. In the second phase of company induction, information previously provided should be expanded and reinforced and a number of new special subjects can be introduced.

A somewhat different approach is taken to timing in a program based on the needs of new entrants specifically. Compiled by the project on the Induction of School-leavers at Loughborough University in England, the induction program has the following phases: prerecruitment, selection interview, preemployment, starting instructions, introductory talk, meeting superiors, and the rest of the first day. About two or three weeks later, there is a follow-up induction program which permits questions to be asked, problems to be dealt with, and additional information to be given. Somewhat different procedures and timing are suggested for young people going into office work and retail stores.

Naturally, the amount of support for individual components of an induction program varies considerably from country to country and among authorities within a country. If one assembles the various suggestions for a satisfactory induction and orientation program for young people without regard to the implementation problems, the ingredients are as follows:

1. A preliminary program, plus a visit to the workplace before the job starts, including an introductory talk and tour. Some programs invite parents to come as well.

2. Medical-psychological examinations and other tests to insure that proper initial job placement occurs. These may be supplementary to or in place of such examinations at the guidance and placement stages.

3. Information sessions as the job begins about the duties, responsibilities, rights, and rewards of the job; opportunities for training, education, and upgrading; safety regulations; company facilities; relationships with others; the total operations of the firm and its products; and relevant governmental programs. Young people should be paid for the time spent in this activity which may be coordinated with introductory on-the-job training. In some degree, induction programs

offered by employers may be merely a remedial service, repeating some information which has already been given in school. But even in countries with well-developed information services in schools, pupils may pay scant attention or retain little of what they are told about taxes, social security, and other general matters which affect all employment.

4. Supervisors of young people chosen and trained for sympathetic understanding as well as ability to teach and inspect. Sensitive supervisors may be the single most important induction asset.

5. An in-firm counseling or welfare service to deal with entrants' personal as well as job problems. Smaller firms can designate a worker of suitable personality. Companies which maintain social welfare offices or departments usually make no age or experience distinctions among workers, although new entrants may receive special attention. The Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries are notable for this activity.

6. Establishment of probationary, part-time, and temporary employment so that young people can try out various types of jobs without penalty. In a sense, this proposal, particularly urged in France, is an admission that traditional induction programs may not offer sufficient protection of the young.

7. Serious attention to job redesign and enrichment, and job rotation without damage to promotion possibilities, in order to minimize tedium and alienation. As the head of Youth Services of the British Industrial Society observed at a 1968 conference on Youth at Work:

> Today the problem is that talents and abilities are underused and individuals are frustrated by dull work in most organizations (848).

8. Trade union provision of induction services for new members and others, as well as trade union participation in company induction services. Establishment of internal representation of youth as a separate entity in trade unions is accepted in most West European countries. A problem for trade unions is the relatively low rate of unionization among young workers and the inclination of some youth to reject trade unions as part of repellent adult society, as a British trade union leader admitted to the Industrial Society's conference on Youth at Work in 1968 (848).

9. Greater provision for participation by youth in management decisions which affect them. Company Works Councils can be established by law, as is required in some parts of Western Europe, and young workers should be adequately represented, voting on all policy issues, not only those relating to youth.

10. In addition to facilitating youth's adjustment to work, firms, working with other groups, should aid young people to adjust to the community and to solve their housing, leisure, and educational problems. France and Japan make particular efforts in this sphere, while

exemplary firms, particularly in the Netherlands and Scandinavia, actually provide these services.

Beyond these elements of a model induction program, suggestions have been made that all business firms should pay a compulsory levy to finance the establishment of induction courses. Some British industrial training boards recognize induction training as eligible for the payment of grants out of the levies collected from employers, but it is not a universal practice. Despite the endorsement of induction courses by employer federations and similar groups, this activity is likely to remain a voluntary decision on the part of employers.

A far-seeing report on the "Education and Training of the 16-18 Year Olds" by a study group of the Rubber and Plastics Processing Industry Training Board in Great Britain suggests that the concept of induction could be extended to "the wider discussion of the world of work and indeed of the society in which we live. Such a broader view of induction leads naturally to the possibilities of a close collaboration betwen 'trainers' in industry and 'educators.' It would also involve learning from the arrangement of contacts between the new entrant and his peers who have more recently undergone this aspect of the transition" (725, 4).

This group also proposes that the world of work should take on some of the characteristics of the world of school and be geared to adolescent needs. A "primary adult" would be a specially trained person, the supervisor or someone else, who could be friendly, supportive, and insightful. A regular time would be set aside for individual sessions with the "workplace tutor." Somewhat along the same lines, Bazalgette proposes that an experienced production worker, preferably an ex-union official, should perform some of these functions and others for young workers (50). Mention should also be made of the appearance in several countries of demands for closer working relationships and organizational connections between schools and employing institutions. Improved induction procedures are only one of the objectives, but these recommendations are evidence of the widespread judgment that present arrangements are inadequate (946; 796; 790; 834; 480; 481; 50; 51; 52; 133; 309; 373; 374).

INDUCTION ACTIVITIES IN PRACTICE

When one turns from what should be done to what is done about the induction of young people, the picture is one of limited programs, in which large numbers of young people receive no induction services at all. There also are problems within the firms, trade unions, communities, and intermediary services, including defects of both conception and execution.

It is not surprising that such countries as Japan, Germany, and Great Britain, which eagerly recruit young workers and have a tradition of formal training by employers, should pay most attention to the induction services. Yet within these countries and within firms, young workers who are slated to receive training for skills are more likely to receive induction services than are recruits for routine, repetitive, or menial jobs. In all countries the quantity and quality of induction activity tends to rise as the skill level of the job increases. It also is generally true that the large enterprises with personnel departments and internal labor markets are more apt to offer induction programs than are smaller firms. Small firms, however, may, in their informal way, provide the most comfortable introduction to the new employee, and the attraction small firms hold for young school-leavers with minimal academic achievement is partly due to a belief that induction and personal relations will be easier than in a larger firm.

British attention to the induction needs of young people was greatly stimulated by the creation of the industrial training boards in the 1960s. But the larger proportion of young people who leave school for work at an early age than in other European countries, such as France and Belgium, and the smaller proportion of entrants who go into formal training, such as apprenticeship, than do so in Germany or Switzerland, have also given an impetus to British efforts. Apart from what is done directly by firms, induction programs are offered by many nonprofit organizations. For example, the Industrial Society and other organizations provide a variety of short residential and nonresidential programs for firms which are willing to pay not only the young workers' wages, but the charges for the course as well (413, 6; 225; 96, Winter 1974-75, 10-12). No recent appraisal of the contribution of the trade unions is available, but an earlier study by Carter in Sheffield is quite critical of their performance. Carter also faults some employer programs as irrelevant or tending to raise youth's promotional expectations too high, representing the fantasies of employers rather than reality (104, 157-58, 199).

A recent investigation in the county of Leicestershire among 40 firms in five industries indicated that 23 firms conducted formal induction programs, based in whole or in part on industrial training board suggestions (452). The scope of the induction programs varied considerably, with some providing only perfunctory and brief introductions to the appropriate staff and a discussion of a safety leaflet. While the larger firms were more apt to provide formal induction schemes, this was not uniformly observed. It appeared that a formal program might be adopted when the recruitment of new entrants through family and friends, the "social recruitment and induction" source, was difficult. Thus induction programs seemed to be particularly necessary where recruitment occurred through the formal channels, whether official or unofficial.

A considerable gap was found between the induction procedures described by the senior management personnel of a firm and the practice as experienced by training supervisors. And when young people were asked to recollect their induction experiences, still other discrepancies appeared. Young people had a low recall of many parts of the induction program and felt that some of their anxieties, particularly about social relationships, were not allayed by the program. The final report of this study should contribute a deeper understanding of induction needs and practices than has been available thus far (452).

Recent British discussions of vocational preparation for youth who do not receive employer skill training have emphasized induction services, as have some of the emergency unemployment programs for youth.

Japanese employers, especially the larger ones, offer induction services as part of their company training programs and the system of lifetime employment. Employers' induction and follow-up efforts are reinforced by the activities of the public authorities to assist employers in all aspects of personnel management. At the request of employers, the public Employment Service (PESO) and the Employment Promotion Projects Corporation offer guidance and advice on such matters as the assignment and transfer of workers. Small-scale and medium-sized enterprises are particularly designated for such assistance which may even include advice and financial help toward the modernization of work operations or improvement of worker housing and welfare facilities (618, 51).

Some large American companies, which make a particular point of hiring disadvantaged youth, provide elaborate orientation programs for all new workers lasting up to two weeks, half usually in the department under the line manager and half under the personnel department. A member of the personnel department may be assigned to all new recruits in order to assess progress, uncover problems, and discover the need for changes in the treatment of the employee or in his job environment. In some companies, the personnel department conducts interviews with all employees who leave, regardless of cause, providing feedback on programs and supervisors (18).

Five American (New York City) companies, investigated in detail, identify several key issues in the induction process. It is necessary for top management to clarify the roles of first-line supervisors as directors of production, orienters of new hires, trainers of new hires and firers of personnel. The inherent role conflicts often lead to a secondary position for orientation, training, and counseling compared to production. One device to handle these conflicts is to separate the costs of orientation and training from production costs, reducing the output and cost pressures on the department supervisor. Another approach isolates those with production responsibilities from those with other supervisory duties; if supervisors have multiple tasks, they must be given time and training for them. The amount of participation and training given to supervisors in these areas not only contributes to supervisory effectiveness, but is a measure of the company's commitment to the program. Finally, supervisors must be chosen not only for their work skills and seniority, but for their personal qualities and ability to relate to young people (756).

EXTENT OF INDUCTION PROGRAMS

Surprisingly little is known about the extent of induction activities in various countries, either by type of activity or number of young people involved. Most of the information is from Great Britain where interest in induction services is high and criticism of existing practices is active. A British survey in 1961 indicated that a third of the young interviewees felt that their employers did nothing for them beyond the provision of jobs and only a few acknowledged an induction course of any kind (413, 7).

The most detailed analysis has come from the British National Survey of Health and Development, a longitudinal survey of over 5,000 young people born in one week of 1946 (501, ch. 5). Information on the induction to work experience of some 3,000 who left school in 1961-1963 was collected when the group was 16½ to 17 years old; the experience of those who did not enter work until they were 18 or older obviously was not available at this point in the survey. Since some young people had already changed jobs, the questions about induction related to their most recent job. Of those still in their first job at 17, almost 20 percent could remember no induction to the firm, and another fifth had been shown around without being given any information about the work of the firm. About one-half had been shown around and given information about the firm, but the entire experience usually took less than half a day. Only 10 percent of the boys and 18 percent of the girls recalled that their induction took more than one day.

Employers or supervisors were the most common induction guides, and a short talk was the most common induction method. Only 3 percent of the boys and 5 percent of the girls received a combination of a talk, booklet, and film showing. The proportion given some introduction to their first jobs rose fairly steadily with size of the firm, the amount and quality of training, the skill level of the job, and the age of leaving school; differences appeared between those who had left at 15 and those who had left at 16 or 16½. Boys were slightly less likely than girls to have received induction services (501, ch. 5). Avent, an experienced British official, told the author that large numbers of girls take employment with retail stores, some of which operate a system of 'circuit training' by which the young entrant is given opportunities to work in various departments after the formal induction course to the firm as a whole (cf., 261).

John Hayes' survey in the Leeds area of England revealed that only one-fifth of employers offered an induction course, chiefly for those young people who were later to receive a lengthy period of formal training. Shorter courses, usually lasting one day, concentrated on a description of the firm, its products, particular departments, company policy, the people to whom trainees were responsible, trade union agreements, and safety regulations. Courses lasting longer than one day commonly included a tour of the firm and sometimes a short stay in each department. These tours might last from several weeks to as much as six months in engineering firms (358, 15).

In Thomas and Wetherell's longitudinal study of 15- to 16-year-old British school-leavers of 1968-69, a majority of the boys said that, prior to starting work, they had no idea of what their first workplace was like, and still others had only a vague idea. Those who did have an impression knew through friends or relatives who worked there (14 percent), the job interview (13 percent), an earlier visit with the school (10 percent), a part-time job at the place (5 percent), or other methods. As to induction procedures by the firm, most boys were introduced within the first week to the people they would work with and were helped to find their way and settle down. More of those in white-collar than in blue-collar jobs, and mong blue-collar boys more apprentices than others, were given induction help. During the first month of work about 15 percent of all boys and one-third of the white-collar job entrants were asked to join a trade union or other society (844, ch. 5).

EVALUATION STUDIES

Anecdotal evidence has been more common than hard evaluation studies on the effects of induction programs. In one report, an Irish firm located on an industrial estate was said to show a marked decline in its high turnover rate for young females after it introduced an induction program (594, 8). But different conclusions about the efficacy of induction programs were reached in a formal analysis, such as the attempt by the British National Survey of Health to determine whether job changing and job satisfaction of new entrants in the 1960s were affected by the amount and type of induction service (501, ch. 5). Although the amount of induction assistance was not great for any of the early school-leavers, the analysis indicated that induction procedures (defined as introductory talks, tours, films, and booklets) had no identifiable influence on turnover rates. These rates were more influenced by other aspects of work experience and by basic differences in the types and level of jobs held. Nor was job changing significantly affected by the quality of induction programs. While job satisfaction appeared to be higher in firms which had made induction arrangements, the statistics were not entirely consistent and did not control for job level. The long-term importance of an induction program would be slight, it was felt, unless it was reinforced by good day-to-day experiences (501, ch. 5).

The Loughborough University study in 1971-73 in Leicestershire found that 16 of the 23 firms with formal induction schemes were attempting some direct or indirect assessment, but the results were not yet available. Five firms used the standard of reduced labor turnover, two relied on follow-up interviews with young workers, and the others evaluated their programs through indirect data, such as the type and number of complaints received from workers. Two other firms which had offered induction programs abandoned them after assessing their cost (452).

These findings do not support those who urge induction services on the grounds of decreased turnover, better labor utilization, and lower costs. But it is probably unfair to evaluate the potential of induction services solely on the basis of admittedly patchy programs. Judgement should be withheld until the opportunity arises to compare a sizeable number of young people who have had a large number and wide range of high quality induction services with those who have had little or no induction assistance but are the same in other respects, including the type of job held and the type of firm. Moreover, induction services may be valuable to the new entrants in both the short and long run even if employers do not reap benefits in the form of reduced turnover.

FOLLOW-UP

Follow-up services overlap, reinforce, and go beyond induction services in time and scope. Nor are follow-up services restricted to those who enter employment from school. It is equally necessary to serve those whose departure from educational institutions leads to unemployment, nonemployment, travel, nonprofit or unorthodox activities, household responsibilities, or various combinations of these. Only those young people who move from school into such structured settings as training programs, the next stage of education, or military service can be assumed to have some adjustment services available to them in the new setting. For the remainder, follow-up by the transition services may be the chief source of assistance if difficulties develop.

Follow-up involves services to individuals; the duty is not fulfilled by statistical surveys which describe the situation of recent leavers or graduates, even though such information may provide feedback useful in improving ongoing programs. In the United States, where follow-up usually refers to statistical surveys, follow-up as a service is rarely practiced (552; 193). European and Japanese programs tend to slight the survey and feedback functions because of a certain conflict with the service function. If the objective of follow-up is to test the efficacy of the information-guidance-placement services offered before entry to work, the follow-up survey activity might be delayed until some time after job entry. But if the purpose of follow-up is to deal with the immediate problems of individuals in the transition and induction to work, follow-up should be a continuous and individualized process from school-leaving time. Further, if follow-up activity is undertaken for statistical or feedback purposes, a wide but thin coverage of the cohort is adequate; but if follow-up is seen as aftercare, either a narrow but intensive concentration on those most in need or a full coverage of all may be required (289, 13-18; 97, Autumn 1970, 6-17; 97, Summer 1970, 28).

As a service to young people newly entering the labor market, follow-up originally related to their early age of entry to work, the sharp break with school life, adjustement difficulties in the workplace, a need to check safety hazards and the physical capacity for work tasks, and the expectation of some unemployment. After World War II, as schooling was prolonged, full employment was established, and guidance services were increased, interest in the young worker waned and the attention to follo-up services weakened, even in countries which accepted the principle. Whatever neglect ordinary young workers suffered, most countries maintained a continuing commitment to the physically and mentally handicapped during and after school. These young people often attended special schools. Outstanding has been the Dutch program where the same social workers who assisted handicapped young people while they were at school also carry out follow-up. Another special case has been the follow-up of apprentices by the West German guidance specialists who made the original placements. Concentrating on employer fulfillment of training agreements, the West German follow-up procedure does not seem to have dealt with many areas of apprentice discontent (687, 113; 686; 217).

Recent developments have given a renewed emphasis to follow-up activities. These activities relate to the gaps and failures in information-guidance in school; the identification of disadvantaged youth; the boredom, frustration, and alienation of youth at work and outside; high job turnober; higher unemployment in some countries in the 1970s, with a relatively heavy impact on youth; the contrast between the public support to youth who go to work early and those who remain in education at public expense; recurrent or lifelong education as an alternative pattern; and a growing belief that a flow of intermediary services is needed throughout life, not just as a "lump" upon entering the labor market.

Follow-up services can include the full range of services offered to young people still in education. But instead of offering a table d'hôte menu, as in school, the follow-up services tend to allow the young worker to choose a la carte, according to specific needs for occupational or educational information, general counseling, job counseling, specific job and labor market information, job placement, or referrals to training or education services. Remedial or supportive services may be provided and "second chance" opportunities may be offered, often in association with other agencies.

While the transition services are in charge of follow-up activities, employers are expected to conduct their share, as an extension of induction programs. Other agencies in the community, both voluntary and official, also are urged to enter into the follow-up process, especially when the concept of follow-up involves working with all of the aspects of an individual's personality, performance, and background.

Several policy issues emerge in the organization of follow-up services. Should a follow-up service help only those who voluntarily seek its aid or should it have an active outreach policy? Should a program serve all equally or should it concentrate on services to the disadvantaged or unsettled groups? At what age should the youth follow-up cease? Should the goal be to reduce job changing by all young people or should it be confined to those designated as excessive job changers? Should the agencies work at mutual adjustments between young people and employers or should they actively seek to alter the nature of work? There are answers on both sides, as might be expected.

SWEDEN'S FOLLOW-UP PROGRAM

Swedish provision for follow-up in the SYO program and the "modified" or "extended" SYO program recently introduced, described in earlier chapters, is illustrative of the most advanced thinking. Follow-up was a function of the schools, particularly of the teacher-counselors, but with the full introduction of the SYO system in the comprehensive schools in 1974, a more intensive and ambitious program has been launched. Its stated purposes are to provide active support for pupils who have difficulty in realizing their educational and vocational plans, to put those with handicaps or disadvantages in touch with public services, and to help bring the attention of the relevant authorities to the conditions preventing or impeding the mutual adjustment of the individual and society (805, 15-18).

During compulsory schooling and through upper secondary education, those who are likely to be "at risk" are to be given special time and help. In addition to the physically and mentally handicapped, those "at risk" are the economically or socially disadvantaged, potential dropouts, the over-age in grade, and grade repeaters. While they are at school, they are to be given teamwork assistance, coordinated by SYO personnel and involving the pupils, their parents, the school staff, and the Labor Market Administration. After school has ended, active follow-up work is to be conducted by the SYO consultant, with the assistance of the local employment office, the school welfare staff, and other experts. The designated group includes dropouts, stopouts, those who pursue no socially acceptable activity after comprehensive schooling, and those who seem to have particular difficulty in realizing their educational and occupational aims. This part of the work is being taken over by the "extended" SYO program with its active outreach work, as described in chapters 3 and 5.

Pupils leaving school are told of their right to return for assistance, but they are not actively pursued if they proceed normally. The SYO consultant sees young people who return to their own schools for educational or occupational information and, at a minimum, sends them to the local employment office or another appropriate institution. With the approval of the pupils and parents concerned, the SYO consultant may forward school records and information to the local employment office when the latter requests it. The Labor Market Administration's duties are to provide follow-up services to former pupils who are referred by the SYO consultant; to participate in discussion of individual cases; to assume responsibility, on the school's agreement, for subsequent contact with young persons in particular need of support; and, in planning programs to counteract youth unemployment, to draw on the school for information about those who are unemployed or liable to become unemployed. Job changers seeking labor market information or placement automatically go or are referred to the employment service which is in sole official charge of the initial and later placements of those leaving educational institutions at all levels. Agencies which offer follow-up services also exist for those who leave or complete higher education in Sweden. But, at this age, the new entrants to the labor force are not so actively pursued, and they tend to be referred to the information, guidance, and placement services which all adults use.

As chapter 3 indicates, the early experience with the SYO program has occurred simultaneously with changes in the educational system which had the intent that 85 to 90 percent of those completing compulsory schooling would continue their education until 18 or 19, obtaining occupational skills which would ease their transition to work. But this aim has not been realized. As a result, an intensive effort has been made to devise educational transition service, and labor market programs for the groups which either temporarily or permanently leave school at 16 or drop out of upper secondary school without completing a course (794; 790; 834). The active outreach of the "extended" SYO program is a notable attempt to alter outcomes by concentrated attention to individuals through a coordinated effort by all the relevant community organizations, and its experience will be watched with interest elsewhere.

JAPAN'S FOLLOW-UP PROGRAM

Japan's follow-up focus, unlike Sweden's, has not been on the disadvantaged minority who may have trouble in coping with work, but rather on the larger group of young workers who change jobs frequently, especially when labor shortages make is possible, without intervening unemployment, to increase earnings, move to larger, more prestigious firms, and perhaps find white-collar jobs. Such reactions by youth to economic opportunity have been disquieting to Japanese officials because of the conflict with the lifetime employment system, the seniority wage system, the stress on new entrants in employer recruitment policies, and the national concern with increasing manufacturing output and exports. As a consequence, a degree of conformity is expected of youth which is not present in the other industrialized countries (603, 17-22; 122, 75-84, 115-16, 122-24; 202, 68, 72-74, 76-77, 182-92; 591, 151-59, 393-97; 729, 37-39, 68-72, 74-78, 8-10, 23; 879, 170-75, 178).

The Japanese concern about forestalling job changing by new entrants exists notwithstanding the fact that Japanese youth are less prone to job changing than the youth of other countries and youth turnover rates in Japan are no higher relative to adult rates than they are in other countries, as chapter 9 indicates. The surveys which arouse Japanese concern, repeatedly cited in official documents, involve new junior high school graduates who entered work in 1965. About one-fifth changed jobs within a year and over 50 percent were not in their first jobss three years later (425, 80; 426). However, a current survey might show greater job stability due to less favorable economic conditions. British data on job changing by new entrants of the same age show considerably higher rates under less favorable economic conditions, putting Japanese fears in some perspective. In the British survey of 15- to 16-year-old school-leavers in 1968-69, Thomas and Wetherell find that 32 percent of the boys have left their first jobs within six months of starting, that 5 percent are already in their third jobs, and that 2 percent have started at least four jobs. By the time of the 18-months interview, 52 percent have left their first jobs, 6 percent are in their fourth jobs, and 3 percent have started at least six jobs (844, ch. 6). Including, as they do, changes of jobs with the same employer, these high turnover rates are consistent with other local and national British studies cited in chapter 9 where it also was established that Great Britain's youth turnover rate is not particularly high compared with other countries, such as Sweden, Australia, or the United States.

The measures used in Japan to follow-up young workers are an integral part of the intermediary services and often are an extension of induction services (618, 18-19, 52, 80-81, 135). More than other age groups in Japan and more than youth in other countries, high school graduates have changed their residence when they have taken their first jobs, often moving from rural areas or small towns to the major urban centers. These facts have influenced the character of induction and follow-up programs. Employment counseling offices have been established at railroad stations in big cities to provide information and guidance to new arrivals and to encourage use of PESO facilities. In 1970 a law on Working Youth's Welfare was passed, providing improvements in vocational guidance, encouragement of vocational training, and establishment of welfare centers. Such centers have been established all over the country and a comprehensive center in Tokyo offers counseling, physical training, cultural facilities, and accomodation. Youth physical training centers have been established elsewhere. Within the employment service offices in the large urban areas, a special section called the Young Workers Centre is maintained with special counselors who help new school graduates to adapt. New school graduates are followed up actively by retired school and PESO officers who travel around the country and "methodically check the job satisfaction of new school placements and, if necessary,...find discreet ways to help the young worker on the job or (as a secondary solution if needs be)...help him move to another job" (618, 52). Employers also are encouraged to utilize young workers well.

To the extent that young Japanese workers have been responding to economic incentives in their job changing, the follow-up program by itself probably has not had and cannot have much impact on the turnover rate. As in other countries on other issues, a misguided emphasis has been placed on an intermediary service in a situation which requires more basic measures, if indeed it should be considered a problem at all. However, the follow-up program may provide other benefits to youth, even if it has little influence on their rate of job turnover.

BRITAIN'S FOLLOW-UP PROGRAMS

The current situation in Great Britain is in flux as a consequence of the Employment and Training Act of 1973, and some time must elapse before the effects of the statutory changes can be evaluated. Of all the transition services, follow-up activity is most likely to be affected, at least temporarily, by the division of authority between a local Careers Service and a national employment service and by the elimination of the central coordinating and policy bodies, the Central Youth Employment Executive (CYEE) (which had some control over the purse strings), and the National Youth Employment Committee (NYEC). Although substitutes for these organizations may function in a similar fashion, it remains to be seen whether they will be as influential as their predecessors.

The 1973 law removed the obligation of the local Careers Service to follow-up school-leavers, took away its responsibility for payment of unemployment and supplementary benefits to those under 18 (an activity which formerly brought unemployed young people to local offices), and left young people free to choose between the Careers Service and the adult employment service after they have entered their first job. In fact, some school-leavers now choose to use the adult service before they have worked at all. Recognition of the potential of the new act for causing confusion, gaps, overlapping, and duplication of services has been common, before and after its passage. The Employment Service Agency has proposed informal liaison groups of the two agencies at the local level, maximum cooperation between the two services to avoid duplication, and an exchange of job vacancies between the two agencies. While the right of choice is respected, the new entrant is urged "to use that service which was most likely to serve his interests" (363, 9; 410, 13; 936, 19; 97 Autumn 1973, 14-15, 17, 21, 34).

In the quarter centruy, 1948-73, the British Youth Employment Service (now the Careers Service), developed three main types of follow-up services. The first was a blanket provision for a Review of Progress of young workers until they reached 18. In these years when a majority entered work at 15, the rationale for offering such services to all young school-leavers rested on the large public investment in those who continued their education and the lack of any alternative agency to encourage young workers and provide them with an opportunity to develop fully (97, Spring 1972, 12-13). The British effort in this area was more substantial than the practice in most other countries. However, those engaged in follow-up and outside experts in Britain criticized the program as reaching too few; offering contacts and assistance which were too superficial and fleeting; ignoring those most in need of aid, resulting in no feedback for policy and operations; and having less than full support from many careers officers who preferred to deal with schools (104, ch. 13; 699, 101-102, 108-17; 164, 37, 54-55; 319, 21; 97 Summer 1970, 6-8, 26-29; 97, no. 3, 1975, 23).

The Review of Progress activity had two main aspects. Some months after young people had left school, they were invited to attend a meeting or social event at the school or to come to the office for an interview. A letter and brief questionnaire about progress at work usually accompanied the invitation or were sent separately if no meeting was held. Those who did not attend the meeting were urged to fill out the questionnaires, which were mailed back more frequently when return postage was included. By international standards, a high mail response was reported officially--almost 50 percent for the country as a whole and over 80 percent in some areas; some Y.E.S. officers disputed these high figures, however. An improved experimental questionnaire, tested in 1972, yielded even better response levels.

However, the young people concerned often did not recall this contact by the Youth Employment Service. Over three-fourths of a national sample of 15- to 16-year-old boy leavers in 1968-69 said that they had never received a letter or otherwise heard from the Y.E.S. in the first six to eight months after leaving school. This period out of school might have been too brief for the first Y.E.S. follow-up contact in many areas. Of the small remainder who acknowledged that the Y.E.S. had contacted them, four-fifths cited the official follow-up survey as the occasion, while the rest mentioned the receipt of brochures, issuance of their National Insurance cards, or notification of job interviews (844, ch. 4).

A second aspect of Review of Progress was the "betterment file" in the local office, intended to assist job changing by those who had accepted an inferior job as a stop-gap, as well as by those who wished to make job progress. Internal critics claimed that insufficient attention was given to this activity, particularly by the careers officers, who tended to leave such tasks to their employment assistants. An additional consequence was that jobs took precedence over the provision of information about education and training opportunities. Moreover, young people were required to approach the Y.E.O. themselves for this service, leaving unserved many who might have benefited.

Dissatisfaction with the aftercare of young workers gave rise to various proposals before the 1973 reorganization. Daws suggested that two types of careers officers should be created, one for work in schools and one for aftercare of alternatively a two-year rotation should be established so that the careers officer who deals with pupils in their last year of school would also follow them during their first year of work (164, 37). The proposal of the Trades Union Congress in the 1960s, that employers be compelled to notify the Y.E.S. of all hirings and discharges as well as training schemes, did not win approval; instead reliance was placed on voluntary cooperation from employers to indicate which young people were in need of assistance (850).

Under the 1973 law, the traditional follow-up functions will be reappraised in each local careers office and experiments, new methods, and diversity of practices will appear. While the Careers Service is no longer obliged to provide follow-up services, these services are unlikely to be abandoned, unless most young people turn to the adult service after they enter their first jobs, a situation not anticipated at this time. If young people choose to go to the adult employment service, the onus will be on that body to offer follow-up services, which should include referrals to the whole cluster of social services provided by the local authorities.

The second major follow-up activity of the British Youth Employment Service was its busy placement service for repeated job losers and job changers under 18. Indeed, much of the reputation of the Y.E.S. for having second rate jobs arose from its subsequent placements rather than its first placements. But it was also true that, whether or not the Y.E.S. made the placements, youth who changed jobs frequently tended to move downward occupationally and to concentrate more heavily in unskilled and semiskilled jobs than did other new entrants (511, 211-21; 104, 263-65; 699, 111-17; 287). The heavy volume of activity on behalf of a relatively small group, consuming more staff time than did placement in first jobs, usually was left to employment assistants or clerks. Because of the importance of these repeat placements in the total picture of Y.E.S. activities, some analysts had recommended that placement should receive even more staff time and personal attention than career officers (512, 82; 697, 172).

The dispute over whether the Y.E.S. was giving too little or too much time to repeat placements of young people was eclipsed by new discoveries in 1973 as a result of a Community Relations Commission investigation into youth unemployment among ethnic minorities. The survey found that in one area over half of the unemployed young people (under 25) had not registered for help with either the Careers Office or the Employment Exchange. In a sharp reversal of earlier complaints that the Y.E.S. catered heavily, perhaps too heavily, to problem job seekers, the objection now was lack of use of the service. Not only black unemployed youth showed reluctance to use the official service; a national sample survey indicated that 46 percent of the unemployed white youth had not registered, against 41 percent of the blacks (283; 304, 936, 25).

A high level of nonregistration had been recorded even before the Y.E.S. relinquished the issuance of National Insurance cards and payment of unemployment insurance and general welfare benefits to eligible youth under 18 as part of the 1973 law's changes. It remains to be seen whether nonregistration will increase even further now that benefits are not dispensed by the Careers Service. Paying the "dole" had been left to Y.E.S. clerks and, in areas of heavy unemployment, chiefly in the north, little more could be done for these jobless youths. The long waiting line on pay days was a depressing sight to a foreign visitor unused to such young claimants; according to careers officers, these lines also constituted a threat to the careers office and its furnishings.

The responsibility for nonregistration of unemployed youth under 25 could only partially be attributed to the Careers Service whose legal powers at the time of the survey ended at age 18. Nevertheless, the Community Relations Commission report generated concern about the work and image of the Y.E.S. Proposals were made that careers officers should offer outreach services to all minority youth and cooperate with the Youth Service, parents, and community workers in order to build confidence, particularly among black young (283; 304; 936; 25; 69). There is an additional reason why unemployed minority youth should use the official placement agencies; a PEP survey revealed that employers who hired large numbers of minority personnel had recruited through the official services to a greater extent than had other employers (757, 44-45). A related American finding was that unemployed blacks benefit more than whites from additional official labor market information (770, 152-63). However, the underlying situation of an insufficiency of desirable jobs and the persistence of employer discrimination have been seen in both countries as continuing obstacles to effective official services for this group.

The adverse reactions of unemployed minority youth have not necessarily been representative of the whole cohort of school-leavers. The Thomas and Wetherell longitudinal study of a national sample of young boy school-leavers of 1968-69 included a set of questions about their postschool contacts with the local Youth Employment Office. Within the first six months of leaving school, 21 percent had one or more contacts during the next year. Most of the contacts were initiated by boys and concerned prospective jobs for boys who had already left their initial jobs or wished to leave them. On the whole, the visits produced more positive action (information on vacancies, promises to send information, discussion of jobs) than neutral or negative results (no suitable jobs, distribution of insurance cards, payment of benefits) (844, ch. 4).

The third major type of British follow-up was on behalf of young people found to be "at risk" or "at odds" with society and hence likely to be in difficulties with the authorities both in their school years and afterwards. Identifying those who failed to settle down in employment by individual rather than ethnic or group characteristics, the 1970 report At Odds specified young people who, having had an "unhelpful home or social background," exhibited one or more of the following characteristics: a reluctance to work, frequent job changing without adequate reason, behavior and attitudes which made employers reluctant to have them, and delinquency (289; 319, 22-24). The interest in young people "at risk" produced new approaches to aftercare, including outreach services, supportive services, remedial or second chance programs, use of agencies not associated with schools, and training and job creation programs.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Follow-up services are recognized as a logical last step in the transition process. They are likely to be underdeveloped or nonexistent in countries which have made poor provision for the earlier transition services. However, it is possible to institute activities similar to follow-up or aftercare, even if the preceding transition services are not well-established and especially if the emphasis is on disadvantaged, out-of-school young people, who are offered remedial, supportive, training, and job creation services together with information-guidance-placement assistance. This is essentially the pattern in the United States. Whether the amount of activity for out-of-school youth could be reduced if they were given intensive information-guidance-placement services during the school years, possibly supplemented by other services for the disadvantaged, has not been properly tested.

Some authorities debate whether intensive services for those "at risk" are best given before or after their first job. It seems likely that activity is needed in both periods. No matter how good the in-school program is, some who need attention will slip through the net or receive inadequate assistance. These omissions can be corrected and followed-up in a postschool program. Moreover, some whose school record suggests that they will make a reasonably good adjustement to work may have trouble once they leave school, when it is too late for the in-school program. Little is known about the relative adjustment of those who receive follow-up services compared with those who do not. Nor has any work been done to indicate at what age young people in general cease to need special follow-up services, if indeed age in itself defines a needy category. It is generally agreed that the handicapped, disadvantaged, and unsettled require more service over a longer period of time than other youth, and many, in fact, require lifelong attention. From this point of view, it is desirable to have an easy shift of services from the school and youth-oriented organization to the all-age, manpower agencies, as Sweden does, provided that interagency cooperation can be achieved.

CHAPTER 11. PROGRAMS AND POLICIES

The industralized countries have shown an increasing awareness that the transition from school to work not only is troubling to the young people involved but is a societal responsibility in need of improvement. High among the recommended measures are more and better transition services, the name given here to educational and occupational information, educational and occupational guidance and counseling, job placement, induction to work, and the follow-up of young workers. Of all the services, information and counseling most frequently are signled out as vital and deficient.

Although many discussions of youth problems speak of the "transition from school to work" as though the phrase was self-explanatory and obvious, in fact there are at least two differing conceptions, found within and among the various academic disciplines and countries. These conceptions strongly influence the attitudes towards the transition services.

The first view, accepting the school and work environments as given, concentrates on the processes and attendant difficulties of moving from one world to the other. A few main themes recur. Work is harsher and more demanding than school; the transition from school to work is too swift and abrupt; and the transition experience is decisive for the entire future career of the young person because of the importance of the first occupational decision. Despite evidence that many young people prefer work to school, feel no strain in leaving school and starting jobs, and find themselves at given occupational levels because of basic educational and socioeconomic factors rather than as a result of the transition process, this view of the transition is still dominant or widely accepted in some countries. It results in a concentration on the transition services as the main vehicle for smoothing the transition process.

The second conception of the transition, abandoning the narrow emphasis on the movement from school to work, encompasses the entire process of preparation for work and the labor market into which youth enter. The preparatory phase includes the development of cognitive, noncognitive, and occupational skills; the movement from one level of education to another; the relation of education to society; and the idea of lifelong education. The scope is widened in another sense by including many aspects of the youth labor market, and especially by raising questions about the economic and social causes of youth unemployment, restrictive youth jobs, the stress and boredom of work life, exaggerated credentialism, biased educational selection, and short career ladders.

However, even analysts who have abandoned the narrow conception of the transition focus only on one of the two sides of the transition process. The American career education movement, for example, has performed a major service by stressing the need to remedy deficiencies in the preparatory process, but it has given too little attention to the types of jobs available to youth. Conversely, labor market analysts who accept the "dual labor market" theory concentrate on the inadequacies of the jobs open to youth and tend to belittle the potential benefit of improved or additional education or training. Whichever aspect of the extended idea of the transition process is stressed, be it the preparatory phase or the labor market conditions facing new entrants, those presenting such views of the transition tend to downgrade or ignore the importance of the transition services. In official policy, however, the transition services continue to hold an important place even when the problems of the transition are broadly conceived.

For purposes of analysis, especially in a cross-national study, it is desirable to treat as separate aspects of the transition the preparation for work, the transition services, and the youth labor market. The disaggregation of the transition process into three separate subjects not only aids a comparative analysis in depth, but is useful for drawing policy implications, since the programs and policies which have promise for one aspect may have little or no impact on another. When the subject is the transition problem as a whole, as it often is, there is a tendency to invoke remedies which may be inappropriate to the specific diagnosis.

A comparative analysis of the transition services in the advanced industrialized nations is potentially useful as a guide to policy, provided that the underlying economic and social differences among countries are not slighted and the attitudes and styles of various countries are considered. Differences in national systems of transition services only incidentally explain international variations in the ease of entry into the labor market. Cross-national variations in youth employment and unemployment depend on such factors as the level of economic activity, the stage of technological development, the composition of employment, the forms of industrial organization, employer attitudes toward hiring and training new entrants and those facing military service, the legal and institutional framework of youth employment, and wage practices and structures. On the supply side, countries differ in demographic patterns, levels of educational attainment, labor force participation rates of students, age of marriage, and labor market participation rates of married women, to cite only a few factors. These basic forces are very important to any explanation of why the young people in one country appear to make an easier transition from school to work than the new entrants of another country.

The objective of the comparative approach is to find in or borrow from one country institutions, programs, or methods which may improve the transition process in another country. It is an irony that many practices or programs which appeal to the foreign expert for possible transfer to his own country may be simultaneously under heavy a attack in their native locale. Part of the explanation lies in the gap between the formal design, which is what the foreign experts learn about, and the actual performance of the programs, which the local critics are berating. In addition, the pressures for change and new directions may be making the admired institutions obsolete in the originating country, even as the visitor's country is considering their adoption. Another pitfall in the search for transferable ideas is the tendency to put the emphasis on specific programs, on the mechanics of operation, and on organizational structures, to the neglect of the underlying values, behavior, and institutions which may account for the program's success and which may not be reporducible in the borrowing country.

Notwithstanding the caveats on the transferability of ideas and programs from one country to another, there is merit to a comparative examination. Not only do common problems and potential solutions emerge, but nations reveal similarities in the trends which affect the transition of young people from school to work. It should be reassuring to every developed nation that a critical view is taken by both the purveyors and recipients. The time may never come when those who are concerned with such services will not believe that more and better services are needed or can contribute to the clients' well-being and success. Recognition that discontent is inherent in the production, delivery, and consumption of the transition services is a necessary component in any comparative review and a proper restraint on policy recommendations.

One area of agreement among countries is that the adequate provision of the transition services properly requires governmental activity and support. A public obligation to provide the transition services often has been justified in terms of the declining capacity of the family, the church and informal organizations to fulfill the functions required. In the face of altered life styles, the greater complexity of the world, the rapidity of change, the unreliability of the media, and the wider and more varied options open to young people, there is no choice but that government should fill the void. Such services even have been defined as a right in a democratic society. Recent opinion also holds that such public services are needed to prevent the waste of human and economic resources and to avert social discontent. An additional factor contributing to the clamor for the transition services has been the desire to aid young people designated as disadvantaged or handicapped. It is argued that special public efforts are required for these youth because they have unusually serious problems and lack the private means and facilities which more privileged young people enjoy.

Some young people who have reported that they personally gained little or nothing from exposure to some of the transition services also have declared subsequently that such services are valuable and should be expanded. Even when specific programs are criticized, the generic concept is approved. Moreover, many young people wish to join the "helping" occupations and, to the extent that supply creates its own demand, they provide another source of "need." The desire for the transition services appears to be almost insatiable, taking into account the consumers, producers, and public as forces for expansion.

As a whole, the transition services constitute a subsystem of the intermediary services, which in turn are a subsystem of the human services. All of these services can be distinguished from social interventions, which involve changes in the objective situation. For example, job creation for youth or legal sanctions against discrimination are social interventions, but intensified efforts to place minority youth in jobs are part of the transition services.

In occupational terms, the transition services are part of the fast-growing service sector which has expanded remarkably in status, functions, funding, and employment in the past few decades. Transition services, as personal services, should be distinguished from business services, on the one hand, and the other occupations classified as personal services, such as hairdressing or hotel and restaurant work, on the other hand. Encompassing such disparate elements, the whole service sector is long overdue for a more disaggregated treatment of its employment and market relationships.

Important characteristics of the high-level human services, of which the transition services are a part, are their highly labor intensive nature, their heavy dependence on the public purse, their propensity to expand without regard to a market test of demand, and the sudden fluctuations in financial support according to legislative whim. The postwar upsurge in governmental human, intermediary, and transition services reflects faith in social action, as well as the affluence of developed nations which has permitted increased proportions of national expenditure to be allocated to these activities. Recently, however, evidence of stabilization or retrenchment in these services has begun to appear in several countries, as part of a general reevaluation of the amount and direction of public expenditures. The future may not be an extension of the past, and it is all the more important to make these services as effective as possible.

In choosing the countries, the experiences of which form the bulk of this book, consideration was given to obtaining not only a representative selection of advanced industrialized nations with a diversity of approaches, but also a selection of countries with the strongest, most developed transition programs, bearing in mind that no program approaches the results desired of it. These selected countries are: Great Britain, Japan, Sweden, and West Germany. What are the share elements which distinguish these countries from others and which account for the advanced position? In brief, they are:

1. Establishment of the full range of transition services as a comprehensive, integrated whole.

2. A national commitment to provide the transition services throughout the country, reinforced by legislation which defines the responsibilities of the various levels and branches of government.

3. Creation of special organizational structures and personnel to deal with the difficult operation of spanning two worlds.

4. Sharing of responsibilities between the educational and the labor market authorities, between the schools and the employment service.

5. Acceptance of the transition function by the schools.

6. Frequent adaptation and improvement of programs in response to changes in the educational system, patterns of attendance, youth life styles, and the youth labor market.

7. Genuine participation in policy, planning, and operations by employers and their organizations, trade unions, community organizations, and other concerned groups.

A more extended discussion and suggestions for policy drawn from the comparative analysis may be presented under the following headings: goals and programs; organizational structures; types of clients; services; the content of specific programs; and personnel.

GOALS AND PROGRAMS

The countries which provide a comprehensive and integrated set of transition services have adopted a national policy on the transition, often through legislative enactment. Whether or not a government is organized on the federal principle, it is desirable to have a national endorsement of the full scope of the transition services and to treat them as an entity. Current French provision, while much improved over earlier years, still is inadequate because the individual services exist without the integration and continuity required in a transition system. The American career education movement has both strengthened and weakened efforts to provide the full range of transition services which up to now have been inadequately developed. To begin with, the American emphasis is less on the transition services than on what young people should learn to do for themselves. Moreover, it leans heavily on the schools and relies on classroom teachers. Including as it does the development of occupational skills which are not strictly functions of the transition services, the American career education movement slights the problems which arise after leaving schools and is weak on the continuing need for services such as induction and follow-up.

Specifically in the objectives of the transition services as a whole and in each of the subdivisions is greatly to be desired. It is not enough for programs to state generalities about the functions of their services. To facilitate both outside evaluation and the effective internal management of programs, there should be formal statements of realistic aims which lend themselves to measurement. An example is the specific goals for some student outcomes in American career deducation. The Office of Education in June 1974 defined success upon leaving the educational system as placement in a paid occupation, in further education, or in unpaid work that is consistent with students' current career plans. Yet, useful as this definition is because of its specificity and capacity for measurement, it is dangerous when applied as a criterion of performance. It sets an unrealistic goal, and it inculcates false hopes in young people, because it does not allow for the workings of the economy and the labor market which may frustrate the program's intentions and cause many young people to be placed in positions utterly at odds with their career plans. Any formulation of objectives, no matter how specific, must fail if it omits significant limiting factors, promises more than anyone can deliver, or overstates the degree of change which such programs can effect by themselves.

In the transition services, as in the other intermediary and human services, programs tend to develop and be evaluated in a certain sequence, although much overlapping occurs. The program is first defined and measured in terms of its own facilities: number and type of personnel, number and location of offices, resources available to staff, work schedules, and so forth. In the second phase, quantitative reports are added on how much service was provided, the ratios of clients to staff, and the number of activities of a specialized character. Qualitative aspects usually become prominent in reports and evaluations only after a program has been in place for a while. The inquiries are made as to the nature of the services and the suitability of the delivery systems. An added dimension is consideration of the reaction of consumers to the services: do they approve of them, do they patronize the services in the proportions expected, do these services offset or counteract the contrary signals issuing from other sources of information and guidance? Finally, the programs must be examined internally and externally in regard to the contribution of these services to young people's abilities to function, the actual decisions they reach, and the outcomes in their lives. These separate aspects are important in both the planning and evaluation of programs and should be deliverately introduced, strengthening the implicit recognition they now receive in the devising and monitoring of programs.

It is desirable that new or revised transition service programs or portions of programs should not be adopted hastily or be instituted for so short a time period that no opportunity exists to demonstrate their utility. A precondition of success for any social program is that the personnel delivering the services to clients should fully understand and accept its objectives and operations. Especially if existing personnel are required to change their values and procedures, a prior period of training is essential before the program commences operations, but newly hired personnel should have such preoperations training as well. In fact, the trainers and educators need an advance period to draw up and test the proposed training program.

The program itself will benefit from not being introduced all over the country at once. The limitations on training capacity usually mean that the output of trained personnel is slow at first. If the trained personnel are concentrated at a few places, the program can be monitored, and improvements in training and program elements can be introduced as the program is generalized. This kind of experimental phase is different from a specially mounted experiment, which often is unrealistic because of program elements or costs which cannot be replicated in a general extension. Finally, the uncertainties about the utility of programs of this kind are now so well accepted that it is wise to build into each program provision for a monitoring procedure and an official evaluation after a suitable period of time.

A country like the United States is handicapped in meeting some of thises standards because the federal and state legislatures pass detailed measures instead of permitting administrative discretion, sums of money are voted which must be spent in a given time period or be forever lost, programs are voted too short a life to demonstrate their viability or usefulness, and duplicative, conflicting, and varied sources of authority and funding may be established for a given area of activity or program.

The introduction into Sweden's schools of the SYO system (educational and occupational information and guidance) has illustrated how good standards can be met. In June 1971 the legislature laid down the general principles, financing, and timing of the constituent parts of the new system. Allowing lead time to establish the one year, full-time training program for personnel at three selected university schools of education, the full SYO program did not become operational until the 1974-75 school year. It had been introduced in only a few selected municipalities in 1972-73, and in the first and second year classes of all upper secondary schools in 1973-74. Specific guidelines for the training of SYO consultants were laid down by the National Board of Education, and other details of the program also were left to administrative decision by a coordinated group of relevant official agencies. The 1971 law provided that the entire SYO system should be reviewed and evaluated in 1979, at which time a decision will be made to retain, revise, or abandon the program.

Finally, it is important that the transition services maintain close connections with related programs. The transition services must be aware of developments in the other institutions that prepare young people for work, as well as in those that seek to improve the youth labor market and the employment level of the whole economy. The transitions from one level of education to another and from school to work are not the only transitions young people find difficult. The transition services cannot escape some involvement in the more general problems of the transition to adulthood, but they cannot expect to meet all of the needs in this area and must be prepared to refer young people to other services. Beyond the relationship with various official activities, the transition services will benefit from an accurate understanding of how their services fit in with the total array of private services and sources, informal and formal, which mold the opinions and influence the actions of young people. Both competition and supplementation are involved in this difficult but significant area.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

Because the transition process spans two discrete worlds, it is inherently difficult to devise organizational forms which are fully satisfactory or which require little adjustment over the years. At the outset, countries can be divided into those which choose to give their educational institutions primary responsibility for the transition and those which choose a bridging agency or a strong role for the manpower agency. Great Britain has been exceptional in that the claims of the education and manpower departments have been fought over the years; the first bridging agency, the Youth Employment Service, was created with links to both agencies, but with separate services for youth throughout. This last feature is a weakness under present conditions. As youth have prolonged their education and the need for information and guidance on educational options and the occupational implications of educational choices has grown, the countries which formerly relied largely on manpower agencies have increasingly drawn the education authorities and school personnel into planning and operations. However, the countries in which the schools have had primary responsibility--France, Belgium, and the United States, for example--have been somewhat slow to establish genuinely cooperative planning and management between the schools and manpower agencies.

It is clear that the complete range of services and the most effective services are delivered in the countries where the education authorities truly accept transition services as part of their mission and where there is shared responsibility among the relevant official bodies. Another favorable factor is active participation in policy-making and administration by employers' organizations, trade unions, the community, partents' organizations, and respresentatives of the young people themselves. Sweden's SYO system has included all of these interests in the planning and operations of its program, and there is increasing interest in other countries in drawing in these groups more effectively.

It is not necessary to provide the transition services through national agencies. National programs, carried out locally with some autonomy, are more effective than purely local programs; among other advantages, the national services tend to be more uniform from place to place. If the political institutions or situation prevent national control, then the establishment of national goals and a degree of national supervision, such as Britain's Careers Service Inspectorate performs, is preferable to complete decentralization, such as the United States and other federal countries accept. An integration of youth and adult services at the placement stage seems superior to independent services for youth and more likely to prevail as countries improve their employment services. The retention of separate youth divisions or sections for placement and follow-up services seems to be a popular and effective approach.

Among the few countries which favor heavy use of the labor market agency, as in Germany, experimentation and frequent changes are visible, with increasing efforts to draw in school personnel. Fluid situations and conflicting interests suggest that revision and nonuniformity from country to country may be the normal pattern. Is one organizational form markedly superior? As between programs chiefly run by the local schools and those which rely on bridging agencies or the national manpower agencies, the latter appear to have more ambitious, continuous, and pervasive programs. Problems of internal organization and external relationships arise just as they do for the countries with fragmentary or weak programs, but they appear to be solved more easily.

The ability to choose a workable administrative structure and to implement it effectively seem to grow out of specific circumstances. Therefore, recommendations to the lagging countries to emulate the successful leaders may be misguided if the countries lack the basic soil needed to nurture the transplant.

TYPES OF CLIENTS

At first the public transition services concentrated on those children or young adolescents who left school permanently with relatively little learning and no occupational skills. Noting that these youngsters constituted the vast majority of the age group, the authorities in most countries assumed that the favored few who continued through upper secondary education, and usually proceeded to university, required less official assistance. As compulsory education was extended to 15 and 16 year olds, as more young people remained in secondary education until 18 or 19, and as substantial numbers entered higher education, the opinion became widespread that transition services were required by all age groups.

In the countries--Great Britain and Germany--where comprehensive transition services were first developed, the attempts to provide services equally for those who have remained in school beyond the compulsory years have been only partially successful. In fact, these programs give most aid to the least able academically and the least stable occupationally. In Britain debates have arisen over a recent discussion paper by the Training Services Agency on the vocational preparation of young people which urged the Careers Service "to concentrate on those pupils...who are most in need of help and advice, rather than risk spreading its resources thinly over a large number of pupils" (389, 16). Some careers officers argue that they already are concentrating in this fashion, while others have disputed the validity of the recommendation or the possibility of knowing who is most in need without serving all.

In the United States where additional education has been viewed as the key to upward mobility, the schools have focused on young people who would continue on to college, thereby demonstrating to critics a middle class bias. A change, initiated in the mid-1960s, brought deliberate efforts in the United States to identify and aid disadvantaged groups. The reversal has been so complete that many educational administrators now believe that it would be unwise or politically difficult to provide distinct information-counseling services for academically gifted youth.

The policy issue is how to offer public services to all who need or wish to avail themselves of them, while at the same time offering differentiated services to the special groups whose needs are distinct. Decisions are difficult because those who have the least need for these services--since they have access to other assistance--are most likely to seek out, respond to, and benefit from the official sources, while those most needed in terms of background and resources are most likely to reject the services they are offered. It should be possible to serve those who are exceptionally able but need help to focus their interests and aims, as well as to advise those from disadvantaged and minority groups whose goals are clearly unrealistically high. The largest group requiring more and different services are those who are disadvantaged by socioeconomic background, race, ethnicity, sex, physical and mental handicaps, low academic performance, or place of residence. Among these groups, the quantity and form of aid should vary according to the group and individual circumstances, but overall the disadvantaged require more intensive services, with an emphasis on outreach and broadening of horizons. Youth in institutions should have access to the same type of services, even if the settings are different. The transition services can be of greater assistance to the disadvantaged groups if they are linked to supportive and remedial services and training and employment programs for these groups, and if the officials who administer the transition services have direct roles in these programs.

A recent Swedish innovation, called "extended" or "modified" SYO is designed to provide active follow-up of all young people who at 16 either do not enter or drop out of upper secondary school. All community agencies which deal with young people are drawn into the effort which is directed by the SYO personnel in the schools and by the local employment service. Recognizing that the issue is not simply one of improved transition services, the Swedish program also emphasizes the development of new educational courses and manpower programs for such youth.

In the past, clients of the transition services were interviewed just before they left school and perhaps for a year or two afterwards. Now it seems necessary to begin much earlier and to continue to offer services until the youth reach their middle twenties. The precise starting age is debated. Services should begin in kindergarten, according to the American career education movement; but they tend to begin around 12 or 13 years of age in other countries, where there are doubts about younger children's ability either to understand the differences among occupations or to abandon fantasy choices.

Most programs stress the importance of drawing in individual parents, especially of the younger school-leavers, and this emphasis seems to be supported by the importance attached by young people to information and advice from their parents. A newer, perhaps controversial, suggestion is that young people themselves should not be the main target of transition services, but rather that the schools, the parents, the employers, and the transition agencies should all be brought together to arrange the transition for those who leave at the minimum age.

SERVICES

Formerly the predominant pattern was from compulsory school to work. But now the transition services must be prepared to inform and counsel young people adequately about a number of alternative paths. Youth can choose among full-time employment, a continuation of education, a combination of education and work, or a tryout period in the labor market with the intention of returning to education or other training after an interval. In the same way, young people already in jobs who come to one of the transition services to inquire about alternatives can be told about training and education opportunities as well as other jobs. Multiple responsibilities lie with the current transition services: to ease the passage from one level of education to another, to smooth the path from education to work, to facilitate an intermingling of both, to aid a return from work to further education or training, and to prepare youth for the possibilities of recurrent or lifelong education.

With the establishment of a comprehensive set of integrated transition services, extending over 15 or more years of the individual's life, the need arises to repeat certain services at intervals on the assumption that much has been forgotten. For example, job search techniques which have been taught during the school years must be reviewed for many young people when they are ready for the first placement in full-time work or when they change jobs. And in the induction period it will probably be necessary to give information as if for the first time about matters which have been discussed in school. This newer pattern implies the rejection of crisis services in favor of a prolonged and repeated provision of services.

In keeping with the general desire to avoid directive transition services, there is increasing recourse to techniques which enable young people to discover things by themselves or to share experiences and services in groups which provide interaction. Thus the computer, games, and group sessions for information, counseling, and some aspects of placement, induction, and follow-up, not only economize scarce personnel time, but yield additional benefits to the participants which may not only economize scarce personnel time, but yield additional benefits to the participants which may not be realized in one-to-one contacts. At the same time, these devices and techniques are not replacements for human beings who are experts in interpreting, assisting, and following-up on the services obtained through the other methods. Given the expanded list of transition activities and the increase in time required, the transition services cannot hope to function effectively without the newer methods, since the personnel, training facilities, and resources necessary to conduct such programs without these aids are not likely to be forthcoming.

CONTENT OF SPECIFIC PROGRAMS

Based on the comprehensive practices of the countries surveyed, information services for those still in educational institutions should contain the following elements:

- the work ethnic and work values
- social and personal competences
- occupational implications of educational choice
- job characteristics and requirements
- psychosocial aspects of work
- social and economic institutions
- employment forecasts

The content and style of information materials must distinguish among audiences. Different materials are required by those who are dispensers rather than consumers. Parents require somewhat different information than young people. Among young people, distinctions are possible by age, academic level, sex, residence, and special situations. It also is important to relate the official information efforts to the unofficial sources of information which often have more visibility and influence. Physical quarters within the schools, known as careers centers or resource centers, are a valuable facility, leading to greater use of services and better coordination among them. These centers may house the offices of the personnel engaged in the transition services, as well as the printed and audiovisual materials, and the computer terminal.

Planned work exploration, as a means of obtaining occupational information and as a relief from confinement in the classroom, is becoming increasingly popular. It is a major task to develop work experience on the scale necessary to provide every young person in secondary school with an opportunity to participate. School systems probably cannot offer more than three weeks a year to each pupil, even if a large number of employers cooperate vigorously. A successful work exploration program requires a large amount of preparation, skilled personnel to make the placements, follow-up discussions in the school, and willingness to eliminate unsuitable employers. The inclusion in the curriculum of various aspects of the information and counseling program is highly useful. Even a large quantity of extracurricular activity does not adequately compensate for the absence of curriculum offerings.

To the greatest possible extent, information and guidance activities should be combined and integrated. However, there is room for separate information activities for large groups with disparate interests and aptitudes, just as there are occasions when counseling may involve little or no information activity. Counseling and guidance may be, overall, the weakest link in the chain of transition services in many countries. Inadequate numbers of personnel, deficiencies in training about the labor market and occupations, a preoccupation with psychotherapeutic approaches, an emphasis on self-development rather than assistance, and attempts to assign to individual counselors various personal, educational, and occupational functions--these and similar practices are responsible, in varying degrees, for the widespread dissatisfaction with counseling services within the transition services.

The job search methods which have the highest utilization rates also appear to have the highest effectiveness rates, indicating that job seekers are choosing job search methods reasonably well. It is doubtful whether a change or expansion in job search methods will in itself improve the jobs obtained by disadvantaged persons, although reliance entirely on one source, such as friends and relatives, may be undesirable.

Official placement services do not appear to make more rapid or more successful placements than other competing methods of finding jobs, although the research designs for the few studies in this area leave room for a revised opinion. On the other hand, the official agencies can collect job vacancy information more widely and completely than any other source, although the quality of the information system leaves something to be desired. The prearrangement of jobs before school ends is unrivalled as a means of eliminating entrance unemployment, and the official placement agencies can aid in this activity, as is done in Japan. There is no evidence that a job search while unemployed, an activity extolled by American theorists, results in better job choices than those made without entering unemployment. The official job finding sources can shorten entrance and turnover unemployment for the disadvantaged groups, those young people seeking jobs beyond the local labor market, and those seeking jobs which are unfamiliar to family and friends.

The case for a public employment service may rest as much on its role as a manpower agency and its ability to offer nonplacement services as on its job placement record. Because the alternative methods of job finding do not usually provide extensive labor market information, counseling, remedial services, supportive services, testing, job creation, manpower services and planning, and so forth, the public employment service cannot be judged solely by its share of placements.

No matter how much effort is devoted during the school years to informing young people about what to expect at work and how to behave, there will be many young people who find the induction to work a difficult period. A model induction program in which employers take a leading role would include the following elements:

a preliminary visit to the workplace before the job starts
medical-psychological examinations and other tests
information on duties, responsibilities, rights, and rewards of the job
training of supervisors
in-firm counseling service
probationary, part-time, and temporary employment
job redesign, enrichment, and rotation
trade union provision of induction services
greater participation by youth in management decisions
assistance to youth in living conditions, community activity, housing, leisure, and educational problems

Although the rationale of employers for offering induction services centers on the hope that such services will reduce turnover rates, the few existing evaluation studies do not show this result. Moreover, induction services can be supported for their other contributions to young people, but in themselves they cannot create job satisfaction.

Follow-up services are particularly important for the disadvantaged new entrants whose establishment in the labor market is likely to be difficult, but the services should be available to all who desire them.

PERSONNEL

Most countries which have assigned personnel to transition activities in the schools on a part-time basis, usually as teacher-counselors or careers teachers, have been dissatisfied with the results and hope for the time when resources will permit full-time transition personnel. However, a substantial number of authorities in Great Britain believe that positive values are created by a mixture of teaching and counseling, and they extol the traditional "pastoral" role of teachers, which others say is less apparent in fact than in fancy.

It is unwise to restrict access to certain transition service jobs, such as school counselor, to those who have qualified as teachers or who have actually taught. Consistent criticism has been voiced in many countries that teachers know mainly about the occupation of teaching, that they fail to learn enough about the labor market to offer valid educational or occupational information and counseling, and that they prefer the more prestigious personal counseling. Sweden has made a deliberate effort to attract nonteachers as SYO consultants and requires that teachers should have had some other work experience in order to qualify for the training course.

On many other points such as the degree of specialization of transition services' personnel, the issue of whether guidance and placement functions should be performed by the same individual, the desirable professional and career relationships among the different types of personnel, and whether psychologists, medical doctors, and others in this type should be direct employees or consultants, the evidence and opinions are too conflicting to draw any common conclusions.

EVALUATION

Having described the elements of the more advanced transition services and pointed to the desirable directions for policy and practice, one might hope to be able to cite all the benefits that have accrued to those who have used the transition services. The uncomfortable fact is, however, that no conclusive evidence has been found to show that those who use the official services are better off than comparable young people who do not use them or that countries with more advanced services have an easier transition for the majority of youth than do countries with fragmentary or inadequate services.

In part, the difficulty arises from a paucity of evaluation studies and the inadequacy of many of those that exist. Thus, the situation has not reached the point where definite conclusions can be drawn, and there is a great need for more carefully designed monitoring and evaluation studies. Nevertheless, one should not overlook the possibility that the situation might be even worse in the absence of such transition services and, in particular, that disadvantaged groups might be relatively more deprived.

It seems inevitable that the evaluation process, most advanced in the United States, will in time be widely accepted and used. Competing claims for limited resources, the search for the most cost-effective methods of delivering services, and the desire to determine whether total benefits exceed costs, all point in the direction of increased attention to evaluation. Although the few existing evaluation studies of the transition services individually or collectively are subject to serious challenge, future efforts should be directed toward improving the evaluation process rather than dismissing it because of its past inadequacies. In turn, evaluation studies must themselves be evaluated by reference to the larger world of social affairs, so as to take account of political realities and the counsels of common sense.

The final word deals with some limitations of the transition services as a nostrum for all the ills that plague youth in making their adjustment to the world of work. It thus leads directly to the successor volumes in this series which will consider the issues and remedies in the preparation of youth for work and the youth labor market.

It is important to recognize that the transition services, useful as they may be for some purposes, have limited if any utility in a number of situations when an unsatisfactory transition from school to work has been identified. Often the sponsors of the transition services imbue them with magical powers, as though they offered a panacea for all the problems that beset youth. By themselves, the transition services cannot overcome or offset deficiencies in the structure or content of the educational system, differences among young people in the level and type of schooling achieved, or variations in their abilities, characteristics, and access to opportunity through background and connections. Nor can these services reduce restrictive entrance requirements or discriminatory hiring practices.

The transition services also are impotent to correct cyclical, structural, or seasonal shortages of jobs for youth, and it still is to be proved that they exert much influence on frictional jobleness. Similarly, the transition services are not capable of altering the behavior of young people who change jobs frequently because opportunities for advancement are plentiful in a full employment economy or because they are confined to an unattractive secondary labor market. These youth are responding to valid information and will not be deterred by contrary official admonitions. Youth who are alienated, rebellious, nonconformist, resistant to adult authority, or indifferent to work may be unmoved by the transition services and need other types of social services.

The transition mechanisms operate most effectively when there is a fairly close equality between the supply and demand for youth in the labor market. The improvement or enlargement of the transition services is in no way a substitute for achieving satisfactory levels and types of demand relative to supply. It might be asked why public policy does not place its emphasis on altering the basic forces of demand and supply, rather than tinkering with the transition mechanisms. Perhaps it is the intractability of these basic forces and the limited capacity of public policy to alter the quantity and quality of youth jobs or jobs seekers that lead to proposals for transition mechanisms as one of the remedies for more basic difficulties.

Disappointment is inevitable if reliance is placed on the transition services to perform inappropriate functions. Therefore, one of the chief lessons to be drawn from this study is that the transition services have a fairly limited competence, and they should not be called upon when other measures are required. Nor should they be judged by such indicators as high and persistent youth unemployment. The transition services have their own domain and, within it, a difficult enough task to provide services which aid and make a difference to those who receive them.

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